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SECRET

Wednesday, April 1, 1959

Am not spending the day with fools. Left as usual at 8:30 with Miss Schu for Department. The four Foreign Ministers met at 10:30. They are physically very unlike. Chris Herter, 6 ft. 5 inches tall, bowed over by a bone difficulty, walks in a shambling way. He talks and presides well, and is an agreeable, even charming man. In dress, he is noticeable for always wearing a bow tie. Couve de Murville, thin, calm, droll in a dry way, has a wonderful facility for clear, logical exposition, and, intellectually is, I think, superior to them all. Von Brentano, corpulent, nervous, puffing incessantly on cigarettes, is rapid in speech and sensible, but not master in his own house, moving unsteadily in the shadow of the Chancellor. Lloyd, unimpressive looking, is a good advocate, and enlightens or obfuscates a problem as seems to him expedient.

In spite of pious promises made yesterday not to leak what transpired at the meetings, the Germans appear to have made an almost complete disclosure to the press. The others view this indiscretion with a certain severity and acerbity.

Lunched with George Wyckoff at the 1925 F Street Club. Left the world of diplomacy for that of finance.

Conference resumed at 3 o'clock. A desolate performance.

Dined tonight with Paul Mellon on Whitehaven Street.

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I had a satisfactory evening with Paul. He is a fine man. We talked of books, paintings, sports, his ramified philanthropic activities, and business complications. I feel about him as if he were a younger brother.

On the diplomatic side, a couple of matters of a disturbing nature were evident today. One is the established habit of the Defense Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, often acting independently of each other, of trying to impose their views on international affairs upon the State Department. Defense's Red Indians swarm onto every meeting. Why the President, who was once [redacted] impatient of the Joint Chiefs' quasi-autonomy, has not reduced that hydra-headed monster to the discipline of the Secretary of Defense is beyond my ken. The Atomic Energy Commission is another agency intent upon influencing foreign policy. The resultant necessity for inter-departmental clearances is regrettable. State often is forced to appeal to the National Security Council, or to the President, in order to obtain a Governmental position on foreign policy. The Secretary, wearied by internecine strife, must at times find it a relief to deal with his foreign colleagues; at lease they are politer adversaries.

The second cause for concern was the disarray of the German delegation. Von Brentano, clearly acting upon the Chancellor's orders, repudiated the position adopted by his own representatives at the Paris

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Working Group meetings, and took a negative attitude toward all proposals. Adenauer is, I believe, deeply suspicious of what he believes to be the British intention to try to persuade the U. S. to agree to the freezing of forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain at present levels, and to keeping atomic equipment for the Bundeswehr at whatever point it has reached on the cut-off date. The Chancellor thinks - in my opinion correctly - such a decision would give the Soviets permanent superiority in conventional forces. Of course, in addition, Dulles's illness continues to prey upon his apprehensions of being sold down the river.

Thursday, April 2, 1959

Up, as is now customary, at 7. Long talk at the office with Bob Schaetzl about EURATOM. He has just been given a Rockefeller Brothers grant to study European integration. Saw Wallie Carroll of the New York Times, Findley Burns and others.

Instead of lunch, I spent an hour and a half at Dr. Chase's office, having my teeth cleaned and being examined for caries (mellifluous word). I needed the former and was not found to be suffering from the latter.

Back to the office, for interviews and the routine into which one so quickly falls in a huge department. Went to see Allen Dulles at CIA headquarters.

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Dined tonight with the Grahams. Explored all, discovered nothing.

The tulip magnolias and one of the star species are blooming gaily in our garden as elsewhere in Washington. Raining today. Tonight I put flowers on Carlos' grave - April 6 will be the first anniversary of his death. It is sad not to have E in the house; it seems dead without her. Also, I miss the two-legged and four-footed beasts, and long to be back in Bad Godesberg.

Chris Herter sent for me this morning, and wanted to know my plans about resigning. I told him what I had said to Livie on a previous occasion - I would like to come home in the autumn, but would stay on if the crisis still persisted, and the President and Department wished me to remain. Chris said he hoped I would continue indefinitely. We left the matter for discussion later in the spring or early summer.

Talked to Foster on the telephone from Allen's office. He was at Hobe Sound, Florida, and had just come in from swimming. His voice was resonant, and he sounded as if [redacted] in good spirits.

Friday, April 3, 1959

After an hour in the Department, I went over to CIA for the rest of the morning and held a briefing. I remained in the intelligence field for most of the afternoon, skirmishing about in Polyzoides' offices.

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Carrie and Macgill James came to see me tonight at the house, as did Simon Bessie of Harper's. With the latter I discussed plans for Jean Monnet's book. Bessie is delightful and erudite - a great friend of Bill Tyler.

Dined with the hospitable Thompsons. Raining hard outside.

Saturday, April 4, 1959

Sunny. Temperature about 60°. Met in Chris Herter's office this morning, with von Brentano, Grewe, their interpreter, Livie, and Martin Hillenbrand. Chris stated his concern over the negative approach of the German Government on positions to be adopted by the Allied powers in advance of the May 11 Geneva Conference. Von Brentano explained in some detail why his Government seemed unconstructive in the matter. (Of course, as everyone knows, but no one says, it is the Chancellor who is being difficult.) After about ten cigarettes of conversation, von Brentano solicited my comments. I made them with complete frankness, stating I felt the FedRep Government simply must instruct its delegates in the Working Group, and give them sufficient authority to reach conclusions, of course ad referendum to their superiors. The present appearance of disunity must be brought to an end.

Afterwards, Grewe had a private talk with me, and said he approved my remarks and thought I should make similar ones to the Chancellor.

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Lunched with the Garretts. Diamond-back terrapin from the Metropolitan Club. What joy! George, in spite of his heart attack, looked well. He is my oldest friend in Washington, and the most kindly man on earth. Ethel was pretty as always.

I wandered from there to the French Embassy. Alphand and I agreed on the probability that if the U. S. and France were united on German problems, the Germans would not prove intractable. This would not be true of the British, whose newspapers at the moment vie with each other in denunciation of the U. S. and Germany, with an undercurrent of contempt for the French.

I talked to Joe Alsop on the telephone. He has been attacked by a tapeworm, named "Joe Junior", but the worm has, I gather, been eliminated.

Called on Mildred and Bob Bliss - a study in contentment. Jacqueline Couve de Murville was there - very attractive woman.

Had dinner with the Walkers. I have fiddled around with deeds of trust, and now [redacted] would like to start an art collections fund in honor of Mr. Mellon, hoping Ailsa will sweeten it up in a big way.

Joe Alsop picked me up at the Blisses and I went to his house for the interregnum between Bliss and Walker. Minnie and Jim Fosburg were there. What an unusual conversationalist Joe is, with much courage and emotionalism, but less judgment. However, some

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passion is needed in journalism. He has enough to compensate for the deficiencies of other columnists, but often confuses the national interest with his lust for disclosures and his own strong prejudices.

Sunday, April 5, 1959

Lovely spring day. The japonica is out, and the crab apples about to blossom. Anne Carter Greene took me to see Mrs. Leonard's house on N Street. She has just died. Ben Thoron [redacted] inherited it, and wants to sell it. This should not be difficult, for it is a fine house, and the garden ranks among the six most spacious in Georgetown.

Truman materialized with his Cadillac and drove me to the station. I had a chat on the train with General Crittenberger about RFE matters, left my things at the Brook, and dined [redacted] enjoyably with Ailsa.

Monday, April 6, 1959

Called on George White. Lunched with Lucius Clay and Jack McCloy in a private room at the University Club. Most interesting to hear their views on Berlin and the German problem, which are in general accord with my own. Lucius thinks there should be one or more Senators, with strong and sensible opinions about negotiations with the Soviets, attached to our delegation at Geneva, and later present at a Summit conference. For this purpose he believes Lyndon Johnson would be best, since he would express himself

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unreservedly to the President, who likes and respects him.

McCloy and Clay both admire Dean Acheson's performance as Secretary of State, but deplore his bile which causes him to lash out indiscriminately against any actions by the Administration.

Tonight, I went to see Ellen, PZ and Jim, who are still at 280 Park Avenue, pending its demolition. It is to be replaced by an office skyscraper. All along Park Avenue, apartment houses only 30 to 40 years old are being torn down, and Lexington and Third Avenues are teeming with workmen thrusting girders skyward.

Vernon Taylor from San Antonio, Texas, was also at dinner. About seventy, he looks sixty. He is a [redacted] successful independent oil operator and fascinating about geology, the significance of anticlines, siniclines and the rest.

Tuesday, April 7, 1959

Beautiful sunny day. Had early lunch with Buck Crawford and ate shad roe. Ailsa sent me to Idlewild in her car, and I took the 3:30 Swiss Air flight for Cologne.

Earlier in the day, I [redacted] stopped by Klejman and also Ensko. I acquired: 1 - An Augsburg cup; 2 - A Danzig tankard; 3 - A St. Petersburg tankard; 4 - A Moscow cup with the portrait of a Czar engraved on it; 5 - A silver gilt Swedish cup. Quite a morning.

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Wednesday, April 8, 1959

I arrived at Wahn Airport about 9 o'clock this morning after a smooth and uneventful trip. With the difference of six hours in time between New York and Germany, I reached here at 3 o'clock in the morning, New York time. The trouble about such a journey is that, with the mania the aviation companies have for serving long dinners, one does not have a chance to sleep more than about three hours before the passengers begin to clamor, a couple of hours before arrival, for their breakfast.

En route from the airport with E I heard the extraordinary news about Adenauer having declared yesterday his intention to stand for the presidency of the Federal Republic. This is the most startling occurrence in German politics for many years. The President is inhibited by constitutional limitations from taking an active part in foreign affairs, but I have no doubt the Chancellor feels he could use his great prestige freely in that field regardless of any criticism by strict constitutionalists. However, the reason for his action is obscure. I know his intimate friends like Robert Pferdmenges have for a long time wished him to retire from his present office while his health is still excellent.

There was a great deal of correspondence to be dealt with or disregarded, and I felt quite discouraged at the accumulation of problems.

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This afternoon, Adenauer made a radio speech that threw no light on his decision, but was especially interesting on the subject of the bad relationship between Great Britain and Germany. (see pages 11 - 17 inclusive.)

Kit Steel came to see me at the house this evening, and we exchanged speculations about Adenauer's decision. The Chancellor left tonight for Lake Como where he expects to remain until May 4. I shall write him a letter of congratulation.

I called Martin Hillenbrand in Washington, to inquire why I [redacted] received a telegram today telling me to go to Berlin at my earliest convenience and discuss with Willy Brandt the state of the West Berliners' morale. I think it inexpedient to do so at this time since, (1) Gufler might properly be offended at such an incursion into his territory when his Mission has been so competently reporting on this subject; and (2) the alarm that might possibly be generated in the minds of Brandt and members of the Senat in having me make this inquiry so soon after my return from Washington. Martin promised to look into the matter.

Tish Baldrige is staying with us.

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Chancellor Adenauer's Radio Speech of April 8, 1959:

"Ladies and gentlemen, we are in a period of conferences and preliminary conferences. In Washington a Western foreign ministers' conference preceded the meeting in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of NATO. The reports which reached the public from there all agreed over the fact that, as far as the attitude of the NATO powers is concerned, there was absolute agreement over basic principles. A complete agreement has not yet been reached in regard to less important questions of detail and perhaps also in questions of procedure.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is rather difficult, in preparing a conference of alliance partners - and those who met in Washington were after all alliance partners - to agree on all points from the very beginning. A wide range of questions has to be broached and clarified. This is especially necessary, and has to be done very carefully, when later on one will face as negotiation partner a dictator who will determine his statements and actions at his own personal discretion.

But now, ladies and gentlemen, let me emphasize one thing very emphatically. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that, prior to the beginning of the first ministers' conference where the Russians will be represented, the agreement will not also have been reached regarding the less important questions which already exists as regards the important questions.

The major subject of the conferences, and also of the recent Washington conferences, was Berlin and the German question. The day before yesterday, upon his return from Washington, I received the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. von Brentano, for his report, and also during the negotiations I have of course been kept informed by his cables. So I think I am justified in saying that I

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have a clear picture of the course of the negotiations.

The deliberations in Washington were concluded with an unequivocal affirmation of freedom and of the determination to defend this freedom. These results were by no means, as it is claimed in part of the press, the consequence of a more rigid German attitude, but are the expression of a common realization and view of the Western alliance partners towards Soviet demands and threats.

I may assume, ladies and gentlemen, that you know about the Soviet proposals regarding Berlin and a peace treaty. If the Soviet Union were successful with its proposals, Germany would be divided into three instead of two parts, as is at present the case; it would be neutralized, and it would be separated from its Western allies. With Germany separated off, the work of European integration would be destroyed. Sooner or later the other Western countries in Europe would be drawn into the Soviet wake of power. If the Soviet Union were to succeed in laying its hand on the industrial potential of the Federal Republic, it would with one stroke be the strongest economic power of the world. And if the Soviet leaders moreover succeeded in extending their influence also over the other countries of the European Economic Community, the Soviet Union would have reached an export potential that would be superior to that of the United States of America. Thus, the Soviet Union would have made a decisive step towards communist world domination under its leadership.

We have the certainty and the assurance that our Western Allies are determined to defend with all means their vital positions in Europe, in the Federal Republic and in Berlin. The free West - and especially we, ladies and gentlemen, want to restore peace to the world. Therefore we desire negotiations, in spite of the legitimate doubt whether the

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Soviet Union really is prepared to engage in serious talks. The West will enter upon these negotiations, I may repeat once more, completely united in thought and action. Our Allies assess in an entirely realistic way the Soviet Union's urge to expand and the danger of the threat from the East. It is not easy, and it is not without danger, to counter the demands of the Soviet Union with proposals of our own. It would be disastrous to believe that the Soviet Union's striving for power could be permanently halted by making minimal concessions one after the other. One would only thereby arouse the greed of the other side. The demands of tomorrow would be still more boundless than those of yesterday. Genuine negotiations presuppose readiness on both sides to make concessions. These concessions, however, must not arise from maximal demands artificially blown up and voiced in a blackmailing fashion, but must correspond to political reality. I emphasize once more, the West i s ready for this. But this readiness has its limits where one expects it to abandon principles which are the common property of all free peoples. Likewise, the concessions of the Federal Government have their limits where the free way of life of its citizens is endangered and a reunification of Germany in freedom is rendered impossible. No German Federal Government can renounce the right of the suppressed part of the German nation to decide by free elections its political fate. No German Federal Government can accept a plan of confederation of both German states (in quotation marks) which has as its aim not only the isolation of the Federal Republic in foreign affairs and the destruction of its free domestic institutions, but also provides no chance for the restoration of German unity in freedom.

My dear ladies and gentlemen, he who has to bear the burden

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of political responsibility must keep away from any kind of wishful thinking. A tendency to wishful thinking is especially dangerous in foreign affairs because the latter determines the fate not only of the present but also of future generations. We all know how illusions in foreign affairs tend to bring their own bitter and often bloody revenge; how hopeless an undertaking it is especially in this field to correct mistakes that have once been made. The West will continue to be guided by these considerations also in the future. Its attitude at the forthcoming negotiations will continue to be determined by the realization that a persistent defense of its rights will involve the lesser risk for all parties concerned.

There has been much speculation over the attitude of the German delegation to the Washington conferences. I think that the Federal Government owes it to the German people to keep reexamining the entire situation with special carefulness as it is primarily German questions which are involved, and as it is we, we Germans, who are the first and direct target of the Soviet move. We would not do our duty towards the German people if we did not state our views at any conference. And it is only natural, after all, that in the case of German questions it is primarily the German government which must state its views.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the press, and also in the German press, there has also been much talk to the effect that our relation to Great Britain, and especially my personal relation with the British Prime Minister, has deteriorated.

As for my personal relation to Macmillan, everything which has been written about it is mere fantasy. I have often asked myself whether there are not some wirepullers who are industriously at work worsening the relation of the British and the German people. It is

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unfortunately the case that for some time - and indeed long before Macmillan's journey to Russia and certainly not just since the beginning of the Washington Conference - the attitude in Great Britain toward Germany has been, one can almost say, systematically worsened. When Prime Minister Macmillan visited me in Bonn on March 12 of this year, I very frankly and candidly called his attention to the worsening of the attitude of Great Britain toward Germany which was being systematically brought about, and I showed him evidence of it. I told him how much I deplored this development, and how incomprehensible the whole thing seemed to me also from the British point of view, for the fate of Britain and the fate of Germany, exactly like that of the fate of the other states allied in the Atlantic Pact, were inseparably and indissolubly bound together. The destiny of the one was the destiny of the other. In such a situation, in such a position I placed the greatest store in having the memory of the war years burned once and for all. The aversion to Germany which was being nourished from various sources ought to cease. That is still my view and will remain my view. On the German side, everything will be avoided which might in any way add substance to the anti-German attitude in Great Britain. The reproach has been leveled against the German delegation, and also against me, that we refuse to discuss proposals made by Great Britain regarding the creation of a "frozen zone" in Europe. Now, I have just had it very carefully looked into once more as to whether a precise proposal on the part of Great Britain - and one can only discuss a precise proposal - has been made. I have confirmed the fact that this subject has only been mentioned in a very vague way, and that a discussion of it was not at all possible. It has to do with a question of a strongly military character, because also in the British view, the strength of the West must not be decreased. On the basis of consultations with

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the responsible authorities on the German side, I can, generally speaking, associate myself, with what President de Gaulle has said regarding the size, extent and nature of such a zone of detente. In his press conference on March 25 the French President noted that the creation of such a zone only had point if disarmament were carried out in the entire area between the Atlantic and the Urals. Our responsible military authorities, as well as I myself as a politician, agree entirely with this view.

I think that British attacks against de Gaulle because of various differences of opinion have kept within certain limits. It is only against us, and especially against myself, that these attacks are being launched in a more and more pronounced fashion. I think that once one has become a companion in a common fate - and we are all companions in a common fate - one should resolutely leave such superficialities and disturbing elements out of political discussions.

Permit me now, ladies and gentlemen, to go over to another chapter.

My dear fellow countrymen, you will have been very much astonished when yesterday I declared myself ready to be elected as successor to our beloved Federal President Heuss. I should not like at this time to talk in great detail about my motives, but I should like to say the following:

It is true that I did not take long in making my decision, but it was well-considered, and also today it appears to be a correct decision; this is the concerted view of myself and my friends. One must not consider this decision only in the light of the problems of the present. For a long time to come we shall live in a period of danger and uncertainty. My decision is designed, ladies and gentlemen, to ensure the continuity of our policy for years to come. I think - and also in this view I am entirely in accord with my friends -

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that in view of my experience and in view of the confidence which has been bestowed on me so richly at home and abroad, I shall execute the office of the Federal President in keeping with the importance of this high office.

In two sentences I should like to say the following with the greatest of emphasis: the position, the task, and the work of the Federal President are underrated in German public opinion and, thereby, also in international public opinion. It is much greater than is generally thought.

Also I should like to say to you, and this statement is designed for those countries that are befriended with us as well as for those that are not befriended with us: during the years to come, and not only during this forthcoming period of conferences, the attitude of the Federal Government and of the Federal Republic of Germany will not change in any way, will not change one bit. We are and shall remain faithful partners of our partners, faithful friends of our friends, and vigilant opponents of those who oppose our justified demands for peace and freedom, and for reunification in peace and freedom."

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Thursday, April 9, 1959

General Eddleman came to see me this morning. We took up the question of General Hamlett remaining in Berlin beyond the date of his proposed transfer, namely June 1. He has been in Germany for four years, two of them in Berlin, and would normally be slated for a position elsewhere. Eddleman is going to propose, and I am [redacted] glad of it, his being kept on until August 15. No announcement would be made of his proposed transfer until after the Foreign Ministers' Conference [redacted] is well underway or perhaps terminated.

Pat Shaw, the Australian Ambassador, came to see me to ask what I had observed in Washington. I gave him a half hour of comment.

This afternoon we held [redacted] a meeting of the Political Section where I summarized what [redacted] occurred in the tripartite and quadripartite meetings.

President Whitney Griswold of Yale University and Mrs. Griswold arrived this afternoon to spend the night. We gave a dinner for them with the following guests: Ambassador and Lady Steel, Netherlands Ambassador van Vredenburch, Prof. Dr. and Mrs. Helmut Viebrock, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cecil, Count and Countess Caspar von Oeynhausen, Tish Baldrige, Baroness Gabriele von Oppenheim, Mr. and Mrs. Timberlake, Dr. and Mrs. Edward Myers, Mr. and Mrs. William Schott Maya de Montaudouin and Al Wells.

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Friday, April 10, 1959

Japanese Ambassador Takeuchi came to see me this morning. He wanted information about what [redacted] happened at the Foreign Ministers' meetings in Washington. He feels firmness on the part of the Western powers in regard to Berlin, and especially the resolution of the United States to resort to force if necessary to protect its rights, is of great importance to the Japanese and their own situation in the Far East. He is an [redacted] able man.

I had a go-around this afternoon with Tasca, Radius and Sherry on a variety of air matters. The JCS have ordered another C-130 flight to Berlin and will probably schedule it as soon as Moscow has received from Thompson our note replying to their protest against the previous flight.

I have been involved in relaying to the Chancellor letters from Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower about his intention to run for the presidency (see pages 20 and 21). The former did not give rise to any problems except that of publicity. In the case of the latter, it seemed to me there was one glaring error in it, and I took the somewhat unusual step of asking the Department to authorize me to eliminate a word. Presidential letters are regarded as sacrosanct and it is a delicate affair to offer suggestions for changes in them. However, my request was granted, and the Old Gentleman will shortly receive the letter at Cadenabbia.

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Letter from Secretary Dulles to Chancellor Adenauer:

"LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

April 8, 1959

"My dear Friend:

News of your decision to stand for election to the office of President of the German Federal Republic has reached me here in Florida. I have also received with greatest interest reports of your address today to the German people.

Although I do not know in detail of the factors which have commended this decision to you, I have complete confidence that they reflect your continuing dedication to the course of human liberty and of constructive rebuilding of Europe, where your statesmanship has already been so outstanding.

I share your conviction that the enlightened policies which you have made so much a part of your country's national life will long endure. I look forward to continuing our efforts together in the challenging times that lie ahead.

Faithfully yours,

Foster."

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Letter from President Eisenhower to Chancellor Adenauer:

"CONFIDENTIAL

April 9, 1959

"Dear Mr. Chancellor:

I have just learned of your decision to lay down the heavy burdens of your present office in order to continue, in a different capacity, your political service in the German Federal Republic. Though I know nothing of the reasons that induced you to take this important step I want to express my lasting confidence in your wisdom in such matters, as well as my great admiration for the services you, as Chancellor, have rendered to your nation and to the free world. Permit me also to express my satisfaction in your announced purpose to continue actively as a champion of human freedom and rights.

Mrs. Eisenhower joins me in best wishes to you for a long and fruitful career in the new post that is apparently to be yours.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower."

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The next ingredient in our arrangements with the Germans regarding atomic armaments is now boiling. This is an intricate negotiation and requires close attention. It is being well handled by General Thatcher and Harry Schwartz.

This evening the following newspaper correspondents came to the house to interrogate me on what [redacted] happened in Washington:

Herbert Altschull	Associated Press
Wellington Long	United Press International
Sydney Gruson	N. Y. Times
Mrs. Flora Gruson	Washington Post and N. Y. Times Sunday Magazine
Gaston Coblentz	N. Y. Herald Tribune
Emlyn Williams	Christian Science Monitor
Bynum Shaw	Baltimore Sun
Ernest Leiser	CBS
John Mecklin	Time-Life

Actually, they proved to be almost as well informed about the occurrences as I am. We talked for a couple of hours. These background conferences are obviously dangerous, but [redacted] stimulating.

Saturday, April 11, 1959

The usual alternation of sun and rain.

At the office this morning to resume consideration of a long telegram to the Department about what reasons may have prompted the Chancellor's recent personal decision. It is probable a great many motives actuated him, including considerations of health, desire to safeguard, as far as one can in such affairs, the continuance

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of his policies, impatience and apprehension of what he considers a weakening of Western support of them, and, quite notably, depression over Secretary Dulles's removal, at least temporarily, from active participation in conferences.

At noon I went to see van Scherpenberg. Brentano is absent from Bonn until next Wednesday, campaigning in his constituency. The principal subject I took up with him was our Government's desire to try to stop the French, as well as other Allies, from selling about 6,000 kilometers of communications cable to the Soviet Union. After expert study of specifications of the cable, our Government believes it would have [redacted] strategic military significance for early warning and military communications across Siberia.

Tonight we dined at the Turkish Embassy. All of the dishes and drinks were Turkish, the chief ones prepared by our host and the retiring Spanish Ambassador Aguirre. The Greek Ambassador Capetanides and his wife were there, as well as the de Grubens and a dozen other gay people.

It was a sensational meal, starting with huge stuffed mussels flavored with garlic, and yoghurt with cucumber mixed in it. We drank nothing except raki until the end of the meal. It is like the pastis of Marseilles, quite strong and, if water is added, turns milky white.

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Aguirre was outspoken about [redacted] his dislike for leaving Bonn and his feeling of having been badly treated by his Government.

Sunday, April 12, 1959

E, the Tylers, Henry Pleasants, Al Wells, Maya de Montaudoin and I went by train this morning to Wiltingen to see Egon Müller. His house is only a few kilometers beyond Trier and [redacted] near the Saar River. I had heard a great deal about him from Frank Schoonmaker, who considers Müller's Scharzhofberger of a successful vintage the finest white wine in the world. I am inclined to share his opinion. Owing to the climate in the Wiltingen locality, years have sometimes passed without there being a good vintage. Because of some curiosity of nature, the period from May 11 to May 15 usually includes several heavy and often killing frosts. To protect against this, Müller has just installed in his vineyards a sprinkler system on the theory of freezing the vines just enough to keep them from being completely frozen.

His schloss is a huge rambling structure built on the site of, and incorporating parts of, a former nunnery. His family bought it at auction after Napoleon I had confiscated ecclesiastical properties in that region, and have lived there ever since. Müller himself is an attractive man of about 40. Last summer he married a Bavarian, [redacted] and his sister, who was also at lunch, lives in Munich and

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knows a great deal about the wine business, as well as being a Latin scholar.

We had a delightful time and drank, during the course of lunch, his three finest products: (1) a 1937 Scharzhofberger Auslese; (2) a 1953 Scharzhofberger Feine Auslese; and (3) a 1949 Scharzhofberger Feinste Auslese. This last wine he considers the finest since reliable records were kept of Mosel and Saar wines, commencing in 1850. Indeed, such a tribute is not misplaced. It was magnificent and should go on being so for many years.

About 3 o'clock his mother, who [redacted] lived there until last summer in spite of being married to Herr Roechling, a distant neighbor, appeared with her husband. He was in a state of great animation since he was celebrating his 79th birthday. He said he had just consumed part of the largest lobster in the world, and it was evident that the dish had not been unaccompanied by wines. In fluent French, looking a little like an aging monkey, he skittered about. He told me he was the owner of the famous Roechling steel works in the Saar. These have been a source of controversy ever since the war, and he has stood off all efforts by the French and Americans to gain part ownership of them. He said he never wanted any public participation in the stock of the company, since hired managers always neglected owners' interests.

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We then went into the fine cellars and tasted extracts from several barrels of 1958's, graded according to quality. None of them will, according to Müller, be as good as the 1957, and will fall considerably below the quality of the 1953. But they were pleasant enough and of astonishing maturity when one considers they have only been in cask a little over six months.

We left at 4 o'clock for our return journey of 2 1/2 hours. It [redacted] rained lightly all day but not enough to obscure the glorious sight of the vineyards along the Rhine, Mosel and Saar.

Monday, April 13, 1959

Beautiful bright summer weather. On Saturday, we dispatched, at the suggestion of the Department, a study on why Adenauer had decided to seek the presidency. I wish we had been able to spend more time on it, because there is prolixity and repetitiveness in it, but I think it sums up the situation as accurately as a present estimate can.

(See pages 27-36 following.)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

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SECRET
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351
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

APRIL 11, 1959
2 PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 2283

RPTD INFO: LONDON FOR HILLENBRAND PRIORITY 589

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All reasons for Adenauer's decision seek presidency and for timing his action, and their relative importance can probably never be determined.

Macmillan's trip Moscow gave Adenauer deep concern from start. To him fact of trip itself, quite apart from any results it might have, constituted dangerous and totally unnecessary step, which could only be interpreted by Khrushchev as evidence significant disunity in Western camp. The substantive by-products of trip can only have confirmed Adenauer's fears and justified his apprehensions. That Macmillan and Khrushchev should have agreed officially explore further some form alteration of existing military and security arrangements Central Europe, undoubtedly added to his resentment and gloom.

Secretary Dulles visit to Bonn early February was closely followed by announcement his illness. It not difficult imagine how deeply Chancellor must have been affected by possibility his relationship with Secretary Dulles

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-2-

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which was epitome close collaboration and common policy with US, might now be coming to end. It would, in our view, be wrong underestimate effect upon Chancellor's outlook on future, of coincidence of Secretary's illness with what to him seemed to be venomous fruits of Macmillan's trip Moscow and, in fact, of his overall posture thereafter.

Whether, and if so, to what extent Chancellor has formed impression of trend toward general abandonment basic positions held by West, and by him and Secretary Dulles in particular, we will probably never know. By "basic position" the Chancellor naturally means his own views on any subject, at heart of which lies his unshakeable conviction nothing must be allowed threaten presence US forces Germany. We know he has long felt there is practically nothing argue about as to what constitutes right and proper attitude of West toward the Soviet Union, and that all discussions such concepts as "flexibility" are to him not merely useless but pernicious. It not unreasonable suppose that in light his own convictions and suspicious nature, the Chancellor may have become increasingly fearful that West on way down slippery slope dangerous concessions under pressure from the Soviet Union.

In view of Chancellor's political record and public comportment would doubtless be mistake attribute excessive weight to effect personal attacks upon him as one remaining obstacle to possibility reasonable accommodation

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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Soviet Union. However he is in certain respects curiously and intensely emotional human being. While he has always publicly welcomed and prided himself upon Soviet attacks against him when Secretary Dulles was similar target, would be rash suppose his temperamental robustness has not been somewhat impaired of late by addition the British press onslaught of last few weeks coming at time when he no longer so sure US standing rock-like beside him. We feel that prominence he gave in his public address on April 8 to Anglo-German relations indicative that he deeply troubled by this matter.

We do not know how Chancellor assessed implications recent discussions Washington, to what extent von Brentano's report to him may have increased his doubts, and weighed on his mind at time when he was considering decision which he finally took that same day. However we feel one cannot reasonably exclude possibility that combination, or the mere culmination, of factors broadly discussed above may have played role precipitating his decision, at least at time and in form in which it was taken.

By virtue of very nature Adenauer's reasoning as analyzed above, Chancellor would not rpt not wish to reveal it to public, and line given out by his closest advisers and picked up by all CDU naturally puts total emphasis on domestic political aspects his action. Furthermore, internal problems succession and continuity have undoubtedly been increasingly weighing upon Adenauer, and certainly uppermost in thoughts his closest advisers

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DATE

and friends. How decision, and events expected flow from it, are viewed politically in FedRep are discussed below without further reference to private worries of Chancellor which stemmed mostly from external sources.

It certainly not Adenauer's intention leave helm during period conferences ahead and we have found no CDU politicians who sense any defeatism or resignation in Chancellor or in his party as result his action. Rather we and other observers find throughout CDU opinion that good solution worrisome problem transition, with which grim fact of Adenauer's age faces party, has now been found. CDU believes Chancellor determined and politically able maintain his policies through critical months ahead, and has now taken steps which he hopes will assure their continuance for years and will promote future election prospects party and his chosen successor as Chancellor.

Problems leadership transition and policy continuity after Adenauer have long troubled CDU leaders and have, to our knowledge, been active in Chancellor's mind at least for past three or four months as approaching end Heuss' term presents opportunity do something about them. Chancellor's tentative move January make Krone president was taken with these problems in mind, and in subsequent search for another candidate succession to Chancellorship has been first consideration. Chancellor's closest party advisers have become convinced would be vastly preferable for Adenauer use his prestige and authority to direct changeover than have it settled in free-for-all under uncertain future circumstances. G. Ebke and Krone have pressed these considerations

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on Chancellor, building up potential powers presidency and pointing out to him that despite his extraordinary vigor, he will increasingly have to save energies for great issues only, and forcing him consider that even he could not be sure leading 1961 campaign, as he wished to do, at 85. In this connection there are reports Adenauer's family, physician, and close personal friends such as Pferdmenges have for some time been urging him consider giving up Chancellorship in order spare himself. With presidential elections set for July 1, Adenauer had to act before Mid-June at latest, and meeting party committee to seek presidential candidate had been called for April 7.

Furthermore, present state international affairs certainly tends convince Adenauer his foreign policy can only be continued by one wholly dedicated to it. Although Economics Minister Erhard's claims to succession have been steadily growing stronger, Adenauer's preference is for Finance Minister Etzel. Present offers best chance make Etzel, who for years has been active supporter European integration, Chancellor and to have time build up his popularity and prestige to point where he can lead and win 1961 elections in order to stay in. Etzel's name, highly respected in political circles but little known popularly, now frequently mentioned in press and parties; many CDU Deputies have gone out their way to praise him to us as next Chancellor.

As regards implications and consequences of change, situation can perhaps be best summed up in phrase: "we are not repeat not in end

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but in beginning of end of Adenauer era. Nature of German policy for next two years - (until 1961 elections) will to large extent depend on who succeeds Adenauer as Chancellor next September. This question already the big issue in Bonn political circles especially among CDU/CSU deputies, and there is general agreement that either Etzel or Erhard will be next Chancellor. To some extent Adenauer is gambling. Deputies will be aware that their future election will not depend on Adenauer and his power over faction will be correspondingly lessened. Although as President Adenauer may make first proposal for new Chancellor it not certain he can then still command faction support.

When several weeks ago Chancellor tried shelve Erhard by pushing him into presidency, he was publicly overridden by CDU Bundestag faction and an unprecedented expression popular desire to keep Erhard in active politics. This rebuff was taken bitterly by Chancellor and is another element of discouragement which may have influenced his present decision. More importantly, incident is generally evaluated as a mandate for Erhard and his economic policies from general public and CDU Bundestag faction and is evidence that if Erhard wants Chancellorship he may be able marshal overwhelming support against possible efforts by Adenauer to name another. It seems doubtful that Adenauer would risk such a showdown and we expect he will, therefore, have to reckon with Erhard in question of forming next government.

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Under either Etzel or Erhard, strength of CDU dissidents (such as Gerstenmaier and Gradl, with their emphasis on greater tactical flexibility in seeking reunification) in Bundestag faction will probably increase to certain extent once Chancellor's personal control of CDU removed when he assumes presidency. If Etzel become Chancellor, we may expect continuation basic elements Chancellor's policies; and in period before next election unlikely that CDU dissidents would bring about any significant alterations foreign policy. If Erhard becomes Chancellor there might be some change--most notably there would probably be less emphasis on European integration, Common Market and special alignment with France than under Adenauer. Furthermore, Erhard's good friend Gerstenmaier may have more influence foreign affairs. Under either Etzel or Erhard FedRep's close relations with and reliance on US and its firm support of NATO should remain unchanged. It worth emphasizing that CDU headed not only by Adenauer but by great number strong men who broadly share his views and that an important element of Adenauer's power has been popularity his policies. There accordingly little reason expect any upheaval FedRep's policies. Over longer run those who advocate greater flexibility may gain influence but they will have to fight for it.

Adenauer may also have been oversold on powers presidency. Legally they very limited indeed and real power rests in Chancellorship. If

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DATE:

Adenauer's man in that job then potential considerable but with an opponent as Chancellor, president is hamstrung. Adenauer may be shocked to see how fast his star falls once real power out of his hands and others run Cabinet, Bundestag faction and party. However, would be misleading underestimate Adenauer's cleverness, and by appeals to public, personal influence and use of representative nature of office to deal with foreign powers he might make it very influential position. It will certainly be different from situation under Heuss.

At present stage feel following conclusions justified:

1. Adenauer seems sure be elected President July. His enemies are so delighted see him leave office Chancellor and probably fearful that he might remain Chancellor if defeated as President, that many may vote for him as enthusiastically as his friends. (Carlo Schmid as SPD opponent has already quipped that he will vote for Adenauer)

2. Regardless either Chancellor's or party's motives prior event, decision will probably make transition from Adenauer to CDU successor smoother than confused results his sudden death while in office Chancellor would have permitted.

3. We have assumed on basis evidence presently available that Chancellor favors Etzel as his successor. We know Erhard has many supporters for job including very active Gerstenmaier busily promoting his own ambitions

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by pushing Erhard. If Erhard does not repeat not wish step aside to make things easy for Chancellor and Etzel, we can expect at least severe struggle within CDU in coming months which would not repeat not bode well for "smooth transition" from Chancellor to successor.

4. From now until September, however, Adenauer will be Chancellor and will probably have only slightly diminished control over foreign policy, specifically such matters as instructing working group representatives, Brentano, and FedRep observer at Foreign Ministers and possibly Summit Meetings, and we see in present circumstances no reason for him to be less rigid than previously.

5. It seems most unrealistic for us assume that Adenauer, after becoming President and surrendering leadership party (required by Constitution) will have anywhere near power and influence which he has today or even that amount which his supporters now claim he will have.

6. Although there every indication that any responsible CDU successor will have same general outlook on relations with and position in Western World of Fed Rep, we cannot repeat not count on there being no repeat no change. In effect, diverse groups within rather ill-disciplined German Foreign Office and ward-colored ideas which spring from them are but reflection in microcosm of nervous stirrings of politically and foreign affair-conscious non-socialist groups throughout country. Under Adenauer until very

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DATE

recently these people and such ideas which might in any way, in his opinion, conflict with or even distantly threaten his fundamental view of basis of FedRep's security and rock-like policy for which he personally has always stood, have been ruthlessly squashed. No possible successor to Adenauer will wield such authority in such a way. What this may mean for our relations with FedRep under new Chancellor is that although we will continue to have staunch ally, we shall probably have less predictable one.

BRUCE

William R. Tyler

AUTH:POL - William R. Tyler

(Approved in draft by Ambassador)

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Henry Pleasants, Seymour Bolten and I lunched today at the Hotel Schaumburger Hof, which has a famous cellar as well as a lovely view over the Rhine. The proprietor, Herr Mundorf, spoiled us with a couple of selections from his Saar vintages of the year 1953. I bought 20 bottles of Dom Scharzhofberger Auslese 1953. It is high time I replenished my cellar. Shortly after my arrival here two years ago, I was in possession of approximately 1300 bottles of Mosels and now have less than 50.

We went to cocktails at Ernie Leiser's and afterwards to the Redoute for the Foreign Press Association dinner, where we were guests of the Grusons. Kurt Lachman, President of the Association, made a speech before the banquet and was answered by President Heuss, the guest of honor. Our table was a lot of fun, with the Grusons, Leisers, Mecklins, General Heusinger and several others. There was entertainment afterwards in the form of singing and music.

The apple blossoms have almost finished, and the cherry trees are now in full bloom, with the horse chestnuts beginning to burst. Our garden has a good show of daffodils, hyacinths and tulips.

Tuesday, April 14, 1959

Beautiful summer-like day.

Ned Noidness came to see me this morning. He is recovering from pleurisy and pneumonia and from pain brought on by having one

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of his ribs - unknown to him - broken by a masseur on the boat u which he returned from home leave in the United States. This is the second time in recent years he has been the victim of an unexpected occurrence. While serving in Rome, he was attacked by a German shepherd dog. His wrist was seized by the animal as it sprang at Nordness' throat, the tendons of one hand severely damaged, and the palm of the other chewed out. He spent two months in the hospital. The dog did not have rabies but had been soured by a change of masters.

Bynum Shaw of the Baltimore Sun brought in Peter Kumpa, the Sun correspondent in Moscow, and we had a long and enjoyable talk. They both favor a hard line with the Soviets.

Secretary of the Army Wilber Brucker called on me this afternoon and later we gave him a cocktail party at the house.

One of the members of Secretary Brucker's party was Major General Porter. I had last seen him when he was G-2 under Terry Allen of the First Division in Sicily. He was by many considered the best Divisional G-2 in our army at that period. He had a group of about 60 men in his section, including a Russian, a Chinese, a Czech and a gaggle of Italians when he was there. Unlike many other intelligence officers, he was keen to have OSS assistance at Division level; therefore a [redacted] sympathetic and intelligent officer.

Just before midnight General Everest telephoned me from

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Wiesbaden to say the Air Force expected to fly another C-130 to Berlin tomorrow morning. This decision was made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I was to be notified and pass the information on to the French, British and Canadian Embassies and, in my discretion, to the German Foreign Office. This will be done early tomorrow morning. Our correspondents will pounce on this event with delight.

Wednesday, April 15, 1959

Colonel Thomas, USCINCEUR representative and Commander Sharp from General Norstad's tripartite military committee on Berlin Contingency planning, came to see me this morning. This subject, naturally complicated, is made more so by the many instructions, some of them conflicting, we have received from Washington.

I had a lunch today for Julius Klein with the following guests:

Mr. Shepard Stone	Ford Foundation
Mr. Henry Heald	President, Ford Foundation
Amb. Karl Heinrich Knappstein	Deputy to State Secy. van Scherpenberg.
Dr. Paul Krebs	Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt
Dr. Hermann Winkhaus	Dir. Gen., Mannesmann A. G.
Dr. Wolfgang Pohle	Member Board, Mannesmann A. G.
Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat	Member Board, Bayer, Leverkusen
Mr. Friedrich Silcher	Member Board, Bayer, Leverkusen
Mr. Henry Tasca	Minister for Economic Affairs
Mr. Alfred Wells	

Afterwards, President Heald and Shep Stone of the Ford Foundation came to the office and we had a long talk. Several of the industrialists who lunched with me, all representing major companies here, talked to

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me of the difference between Germany and the United States in relation to corporate reports. In reading the average German balance sheet, one can not arrive at an estimate of the true value of the assets of the company - apparently they are usually greatly undervalued.

The sad news came through this afternoon of Foster Dulles's resignation. Last night he was reported as suffering from probable cancer in his lower neck. This would bear out Allen's fears, when I was in Washington, that intense pain in parts of his body other than the abdomen might prove due to a spread of cancer elsewhere. This news will make it impossible for him to attend the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva, where his participation would probably have been of a determining character on Western policy. I feel desperately sorry for him and Janet for this seals his doom.

The C-130 was intercepted by Soviet fighters on its way both to and from Berlin, but landed at Tempelhof and on its return tr reached its destination. I suppose we will now be occupied with protests back and forth on this instance.

Tonight I attended a stag dinner given by the Diplomatic Corps for President Heuss. The Papal Nuncio made a graceful speech in presenting to the President a large cigar box, elaborately garnished and with the n the members of the Corps on it in their own

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handwritings. The box was filled with cigars and contained about the quantity that the President, who is an incessant smoker, would consume in a couple of days. Erhard was there, exuding confidence and being generally regarded as the probable next Chancellor. I had one of my usual amiable conversations with Soviet Ambassador Smirnow. He is always the soul of courtesy.

At dinner I sat next to van Scherpenberg. He had been for a couple of days at Lake Como consulting with the Chancellor, whom he reported to be in fine health. Adenauer has taken up the Italian version of outdoor bowling, and Scherpy said he was not sure he had been tactful in defeating his boss at the game.

I was told by the Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires that my friend Suleiman would be here for a couple of weeks on his way to his new post in Washington and wanted to see me.

Thursday, April 16, 1959

We have had several messages back and forth the last few days between Foster Dulles and the Chancellor (see pages 42-46). It is extraordinary how Foster finds the vitality and time even now to attend to all he does. One of our correspondents said in front of me to another one a few days ago that he thought Dulles had only a chance in a hundred. The other answered, "That is enough for Dulles." Almost everyone at the Diplomatic Corps dinner last night came up and expressed admiration for Foster's gallantry in the face of his disease.

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7:00PM
April 10, 1959
DATE

Sent to: SecState WASHINGTON ROUTINE 2278
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Ref Deptel 2379. Following is translation of message dated April 10 from Chancellor to Secretary:

"Dear Friend:

Your letter of April 9 reached me here. Thank you cordially. Above all, I am glad to find in your letter confirmation of the message Mr. Bruce gave me that your recovery is making good progress. As your devoted friend and as a politician I may tell you that concern about your health has depressed me considerably. I am delighted over your improved condition.

My decision to be at my party's disposal for the presidency had to be made quickly since my friends and the overall situation required it. My election would not mean that I retire from the political scene. I rather believe that I shall thereby get into a position where I can do more than I was able to do heretofore for the continuity of German policy. You know me, I believe, as only a few people do. Nevertheless, I want to state that this policy, the policy of human freedom and constructive buildup of Europe has, as far as I am concerned, deep ethical roots, and I shall always devote all my efforts to it.

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I should be happy if we could meet in the foreseeable future.

I and remain, with best wishes

Yours,

Konrad."

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ACTION: AMB

INFO: DCM

FROM: DEPARTMENT

NUMBER: 2434, APRIL 15, 2 PM

PRECEDENCE: NIACT

782
CONTROL NUMBER

APRIL 15, 1959
8:40 P.M.
DATE RECEIVED

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TO ADENAUER IMMEDIATELY:

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF APRIL 10, AND AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR IT.

IN THE LAST FEW DAYS IT HAS BECOME APPARENT TO ME THAT I HAVE NOT RPT NOT MADE THE PROGRESS THAT I HAD HOPED IN REGAINING MY FULL STRENGTH.

ON MY RETURN HERE TO WALTER REED HOSPITAL, I HAVE CONSULTED WITH THE DOCTORS WHO CONCLUDE WITH ME THAT THERE IS NOT RPT NOW NOW REASONABLE PROSPECT THAT I SHALL PHYSICALLY BE ABLE TO RESUME MY FULL DUTIES AS SECRETARY OF STATE. I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND HE HAS TODAY ANNOUNCED THAT I WILL RESIGN. I HAVE TOLD HIM THAT I LOOK FORWARD TO BEING OF SUCH SERVICE AS I CAN TO HIM AND MY SUCCESSOR, AND HE WELCOMES THIS.

THE DAYS AND MONTHS AHEAD WILL NO RPT NO DOUBT BE A TIME OF TESTING FOR US ALL AS THE LEADERS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM MAINTAIN PRESSURE TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE IDEALS WHICH YOUR NATION AND OURS SHARE. I SHALL BE SORRY NOT RPT NOT TO BE IN THE MIDST OF THE BATTLE, BUT PERHAPS I CAN NONETHELESS CONTRIBUTE TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME.

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CN 782

I AM SURE THAT MY CHANGE OF STATUS, JUST AS YOUR PROSPECTIVE CHANGE OF STATUS, WILL NOT RPT NOT CHANGE THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS GROWN UP OVER THE YEARS AND WHICH I HAVE VALUED SO HIGHLY.

FAITHFULLY YOURS,

FOSTER DULLES

HERTER

MR. PERCIVAL NOTIFIED 9:00 P.M., APR 15

APRIL 15 VD/ER

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493
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

12 NOON
TIME

April 16, 1959
DATE

Sent to: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 2325

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Following is translation of April 15 letter from Chancellor to Mr. Dulles:

"My dear friend:

I am with you in my thoughts. Our work and our life serve common aims. I devoutly hope that God will give you the strength to continue aiding the Christian world through your wise counsel also in the future.

With warmest regards to Mrs. Dulles and to you, I am, as always

Yours,

Konrad."

BRUCE

Auth: David Bruce

AMB
DCM
No others

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Jean Monnet is here today and after a spell at the office, we went off t[redacted]together. As a good European, he does not relish the possibility of Erhard becoming Chancellor. He thinks Erhard in many respects would not follow Adenauer's foreign policies, whereas Etzel could be counted upon to do so. He envisages the real struggle over the succession as being between Adenauer and Erhard rather than Erhard and Etzel, since the Chancellor would use all his wiles to have a successor who is entirely loyal to him. Moreover, Monnet observed, "A man who blows his own trumpet steadily for four months is likely to strike some false notes."

He was [redacted] interesting about what he considers the real possibilities of de Gaulle and Adenauer proposing a confederation of France and Germany. He believes if this were done, it would be acceptable to the French people and of course to the Germans. It could only be accomplished while they are both alive and in office in their respective countries. I did not press him on this, for I know he has had some private conversations with a few leading characters on this subject. However, I was surprised at the optimism with which he contemplates such an occurrence. He believes this would be one of the most important happenings in modern European history. He appreciates the many constitutional and organizational problems involved in such an undertaking but, on the whole, considers it manageable. This is

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(Translation)

Federal Republic of Germany

The Federal Chancellor

Cadenabbia, April 15, 1959

Ambassador David Bruce
Bad Godesberg
Mehlemer Aue

Dear Mr. Bruce:

Warmest thanks for your kind letter of April 11. I want to thank you for the understanding which you have shown of my decision, which has not been an easy one to make.

I am deeply concerned about our friend Dulles; I have anxieties of a personal nature and anxieties having a political coloring since I do not know what political effects his resignation will have.

My personal assistant tells me that you are prepared to see me here. I thank you for that, and I should like very much to return to the subject in the near future.

With best regards to your wife and to yourself

/s/ Adenauer

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Friday, April 17, 1959

We arrived in Berlin on a beautiful sunny morning. During the night, at times the train ran so fast that most people were unable to sleep, and some of them had difficulty in clinging to their beds. As the train rounds curves, one can almost feel the rails bending beneath the cars. Since this little special train has to be sandwiched in between other trains, we alternate between proceeding at excessive speeds and meandering along.

I had a long talk with Hamlett, and then Gufler before going to call on Willy Brandt, in accordance with instructions I had received from the Department, to ascertain his views on the present state of Berlin morale. This has steadily been commented on, and competently so, by the Berlin Mission, so I contented myself with summarizing my interview in a message to the Department (see page 53).

We left at 5 o'clock under the guidance of Colonel Hoffman in a C-47 for Wahn, and had a smooth flight. I brought along a chair I picked up casually in an antique shop at the reasonable price of about $125. It is a beautiful gilt and white Directoire piece with sphinx heads. It is in fine condition and just reupholstered.

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SECRET

- 53 -

"FROM: Berlin

TO: Department

NUMBER: 635

FROM BRUCE

RE Deptel to Bonn 2363

I saw Brandt this morning. He satisfied with general situation West Berlin. Present unemployment, as compared with same period last year, is 20,000 lower, there have been no significant removals people, capital or industry. Number persons leaving for permanent residence West Germany not markedly greater than normal flow. He emphasized that morale West Berliners primarily and largely depends upon their belief in firmness of U.S. foreign policy, and expectation we will maintain stand re garrison, access routes, etc. by resort to force if necessary."

SECRET

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Saturday, April 18, 1959

To the office this morning, where we had to deal with contingency planning for Berlin and atomic stockpiling. It was damp and hazy until noon when the sun began to break through the clouds. The white hawthorn blooming in our garden is the finest I have ever seen.

Sunday, April 19, 1959

Raining today. Met Messrs. Tyler, Schwartz, Klein and Radius at the office and sent two telegrams (see pages 55 - 62).

I had a night message from Foster Dulles, which I answered this morning. (See pages 63-64.) It is extraordinary how Foster continues to pay attention to such details. When his sister Eleanor arrived in Frankfurt the other day, she is said to have told some American correspondents, and later asked them not to publish it, that the doctors had said her brother would only live between two weeks and two months longer. He really is an admirable Stoic.

Herter was named yesterday by the President as Secretary of State, and we assume will take office within a few days. I imagine the Senate will quickly ratify his nomination so that he can appear at the Foreign Ministers' meeting on April 29 with the full powers of a secretary of state.

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SECRET

April 18, 1959

"Dear David:

I shall, in the next couple of days, be discussing with Chris Herter and with the President the organization of the Department under Chris' administration. In doing so, I should like to take full and proper account of your own desires, and I recall your telling me last February that as of that time you would want to resign after two years in Bonn. We could not then, of course, anticipate all that has since transpired.

I would hope you would stay on through the forthcoming Foreign Ministers' meeting. It would be of great assistance to me at this time to know your personal desires with respect to your tenure of office.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Foster."

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM — AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

SECRET — CONTROL (A) 574

EXDIS — 19 April 1959 11 A.M.

SENTTO: SecState WASHINGTON NIACT 2347

EYES ONLY GREENE FROM AMBASSADOR BRUCE

NO DISTRIBUTION DEPARTMENT

REF: DEPTEL 2462

Dear Foster:

I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness. In view German problems I suggest if agreeable to President, Herter and yourself, I remain here until September 16 when presumably Adenauer will have taken office as President. Would like resignation take effect as of that date unless crisis of such nature has developed that President feels it my duty remain.

Since it may be September 16 date somewhat too late in sense making complications for my successor, alternatively suggest I remain through Foreign Ministers' Meeting and Summit meeting if latter takes place.

Warm personal regards,

David

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

Deptel 2462 to CD 902 Apr 18 SECRET

SENDER: AMB

INITIALS: DB

NO CYPHERS

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111

574 — Secret — Unclassified

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE - 681 (Nov 56)

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Monday, April 20, 1959

E, Bill Tyler and I left Wahn Airport by BEA for the 1 1/2 hour flight to London. We were met by Stu Symington's attractive son Jim, and all went to lunch at the Ladies' Annex of Buck's Club.

I reported in to Martin Hillenbrand at the Embassy and went over the Working Group papers until 4:30 when I had a talk with Jock Whitney.

We are staying at Claridge's. Tonight we dined with Kay and Rudolph de Trafford at their house. They have a [redacted] fine collection of furniture, as well as porcelain, one of which, a beautiful Meissen saucer of 1740, they gave us as a present.

Rudolph has a keen financial mind, and is thinking of making a combination with our friend Leo d'Erlanger which should be to their mutual advantage. I have known Rudolph since he and Ronnie Tree came to stay with me at Ruxton in 1920 for a spot of fox hunting.

Tuesday, April 21, 1959

Spent the morning at the Embassy and the afternoon at the British Foreign Office attending the Working Group meeting. The four delegations are making some progress toward agreement, but it all seems academic, and there will be numerous questions to be resolved at Foreign Minister level.

We dined tonight at 1 Aperitif with Betty and Bobbety Salisbury,

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one of the most sympathetic couples I know. What a pity he has never been Prime Minister or Foreign Minister! He [redacted] entertained members of the American Grolier Club at Hatfield today and [redacted] showed them part of his extraordinarily rich store of letters and documents pertaining to the time of Queen Elizabeth, when his Cecil ancestor was her chief minister.

Wednesday, April 22, 1959

We must have brought good weather with us, for this was the third successive day of clear skies. The temperature was about 65 and, characteristically, the Londoners complained of the heat wave.

I went to the Embassy morning and afternoon but [redacted] took off an hour to gether in a few antiques, including a [redacted] 1724 Century Chinese painting of a deer with red-rimmed eyes. It appeals to me morethan any painting I have seen for years, but will be difficult to place.

E and I went to Winfield House for drinks with Betsy and Jock Whitney. The grounds, and especially the great expanse of lawn, are ideal. We dined tonight with Betty and Bill Harcourt at the Mirabelle Restaurant and had a good time.

Thursday, April 23, 1959

After going to the Embassy in the morning, we left for Paris at 2 p.m. Upon arrival there, I went to our Embassy and read cables. It was another beautiful day.

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Friday, April 24, 1959

Spent the morning at the Embassy. Amory is away in Toulouse, and I had a talk with Cecil Lyon and other members of the staff. I went out to see Laurie Norstad this afternoon and spent a couple of hours with him, going over military plans for Berlin, but devoted the major part of the time to atomic stockpiling matters and the question of flights in the Berlin corridors at altitudes exceeding 10,000 feet. In the latter respect, he feels, as I do, that we have proved our point as to our right to fly at any altitude, and we should not continue the process until the Foreign Ministers have met at Paris early next week.

I left at 9 o'clock tonight by the Simplon Express for Milan.

Saturday, April 25, 1959

I arrived in Milan at 8:20 a.m., was met by Mr. Douglas Coster of the Consulate General, and given a car and chauffeur to proceed to Cadenabbia. It was a brilliant, fresh day, and a national holiday in celebration of the liberation of Italy during the second world war. Consequently, the roads were crowded, but this did not diminish the pleasure of driving along the wonderful coastal road through Como. Wisteria and camellias were in full bloom, and this exquisite lake, hemmed in by mountains, hardly seemed real.

I stopped for a few minutes in Cadenabbia to look up my old

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friend Vittorio Calzanara, once the Maitre d'Hotel at the Hotel Gritti in Venice, who [redacted] retired several years ago to live with his daughter and son-in-law at the Hotel Rodrigo on Lake Como. I heard to my sorrow he had died last winter and his family had moved away. He was a superior man and figures largely in Hemingway's Venetian tales.

I reached the Chancellor's beautiful rented villa Arminia at 11 o'clock and remained there until three, talking to him and later to his delightful daughters. Our conversation will be summarized in a telegram to be sent tomorrow.

He told me one thing of great interest, asking that I not repeat it. Having announced he would be a candidate for the presidency, he no longer seems sure he can appoint his successor as Chancellor, and therefore is seriously considering remaining in that office himself. He has not yet made up his mind as to what course to follow, but is determined to continue to dominate German politics.

Lunch was a gay affair, with his daughters, Weber and Dr. Bach. He is really an enchanting man in his family circle. He and his daughters exchanged all sorts of jokes at each other's expense, in the most affectionate fashion. In talking of picture collecting, he said he had not been able to follow his bent while he was Mayor of Cologne because he was too busy to do so, but after becoming Chancellor he

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found he had so much leisure time he was able to devote a large part of his attention to studying paintings! He told me with satisfaction of having John Walker say he would be glad to resign his post as Director of the National Gallery in Washington and have the more knowledgeable Adenauer replace him.

After lunch we all played Bocci, the Italian bowling game. Adenauer is skillful at it, and we had a lot of laughs.

Going back to Milan, the roads were even more crowded and it took us over three hours to make the trip to Malpensa Airport where I caught a Lufthansa for Frankfurt. I was met at Frankfurt at 9 o'clock by Al Wells, the Schwartzes, and Mr. Fenstermacher from the Consulate General, and we returned home by train.

On the plane I met Pauline and Walter Hoving, [redacted] on their way to the Hannover Fair. Walter is intensely interested in his Tiffany enterprise and fears he is going to lose Tish Baldrige to Clare Luce, whose appointment [redacted] as Ambassador to Brazil now seems [redacted] imminent.

Sunday, April 26, 1959

Clammy and rainy. To the office morning and afternoon. I had a telegram from Foster Dulles about my stay in Bonn (page 70.).

I sent off a telegram to Chris Herter about my visit to Italy yesterday (see pages 71-76).

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Dear David:

Thank you for your prompt response. The President agrees that you should plan to stay in Bonn until mid-September.

Chris will be in touch with you later about your successor.

Sincerely yours,

Foster."

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TOP SECRET

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

APR 59

71

Cat A - Action received
Transferred to O/PAUKO
Cat B - Transferred to OUTAUKO
w/o additional action
Controlled by S/S
Cat C - Caption and custody
retained by S/S

Approved by: [illegible]
POL Date: 10 Mar 59

SECRET — 763
CLASSIFICATION — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE — 2:00 PM
26 April 1959
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 2398

EYES ONLY SECRETARY - NOFORN

I saw Chancellor yesterday at Cadenabbia. He asked me to communicate substance our discussion to you only.

Adenauer had informal agenda four items: (1) New situation Washington; (2) his candidacy for presidency; (3) prospects at FonMin and Summit Conferences and, in this connection, remarks on the Working Group studies; (4) situation in UK.

Re (1): In view Secretary's departure Washington Monday and inability Chancellor send him letter from Italy before that time, Adenauer wished me communicate to him his strong desire to establish constant and close relations with him. He will later initiate a regular correspondence with Secy. He expects shortly to send letters to President and Mr. Dulles expressing his views on pending problems.

(2) He had decided to be candidate for presidency in order to assure orderly transfer of power in advance of 1961 elections which will be bitterly contested by SPD. He said he expected to arrange matters so that his foreign policies would be carried on by his successor. (It was evident he is confident he will continue to dominate political scene here as long as he is in good health.)

(3) He sees no prospect of any substantive agreements being

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763

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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Control Number

[redacted]

[redacted] of FonMin conference or later at summit conference if such has place. He thinks at both conferences the question of general controlled disarmament must be discussed. In regard to Working Group, [redacted] said to him frankly the undesirable position in which his FonMin found himself as result repudiation in Washington by FedRep Govt of [redacted] initiated or agreed to by German delegation Paris.

[redacted] answered he had not been informed of results of Working Group findings until too late to act other than he had. He was out of sympathy with positions taken by his delegation and therefore had given up [redacted] for presentation to the other FonMins the orders with [redacted] are familiar.

We have not yet seen papers prepared by Working Group London but [redacted] delegation there had been operating within framework of his instructions and he has been kept generally informed as to what has transpired.

Am seeing von Brentano on subject today in Cadenabbia and would appreciate if Secy would meet von Brentano Paris some time Tuesday.

His chief preoccupation is over UK foreign policy. On April 20 Macmillan sent him summary of Khrushchev's personal letter to [redacted]. PM wrote Adenauer that this long document had as one [redacted] driving of wedge between Allies and that Khrushchev had tried [redacted] further than justified in interpreting P[redacted]'s conversations with him [redacted]. The main point of K's letter, according to Macmillan, was

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

763 — CONTROL NUMBER

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DATE

to propose a non-aggression pact between UK and USSR, having as its most important element agreement that US bases in UK should be maintained only limited period of time.

PM thought maybe there was element of genuineness in K's letter and therefore wanted to continue their correspondence. PM asked for Adenauer's views on above.

Chancellor said at first he had been tempted to answer that K seemed to think UK might be induced to be disloyal to its Allies, but had refrained from doing so, and would shortly reply to him and observe that if an exchange of letters between the two statesmen continues no good could be expected to come of it.

Chancellor spoke at length of his deep concern over UK foreign policy and especially what its representatives might say in any debate at conference table. PM, in his eagerness for Summit meeting, has already thrown away good cards. The three Western powers have thus far missed opportunity to obtain standstill concession from USSR in return for Summit, and Adenauer hopes they will nail this down before agreeing to such meeting. In his opinion PM is thinking in antiquated European balance-of-power terms, and does not realize strength in Europe engendered by continental unity thus far achieved. It is evident he has profound distrust of UK firmness or ability in dealing with Soviets. He said he thought in Moscow there must have been

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Monday, April 27, 1959

Saw General Steinbach and Harry Schwartz about atomic stockpiling.

Fred Donner, Chairman of the Board of General Motors, and Messrs. Quinlan and Zduneck of the same organization came to lunch with me. Donner is a great change from Charlie Wilson, and, in my estimation, a great improvement upon him. He is evidently something of a scholar, being especially interested in the field of Civil War literature, with which he displays considerable familiarity. Since I am still the owner of a 1949 Pontiac station wagon, I was gratified by his observation that it was the best car built by Pontiac until the present 1959 model, which is out-stripping Oldsmobile and Buick in sales. I found Mr. Donner's companions agreeable and enjoyed their company.

Sir William Haley, Editor of the London Times, came to the house this evening to see me. I had a long and frank talk with him. I found him more understanding on the relationship between the U. S. and the U. K. than some of the recent editorials in his paper had prepared me for. He is concluding an interesting tour of Europe, during the course of which he has had interviews with most of the leading statesmen.

Tonight Violet and Ben Thornn from Washington, and Christopher and Janet Thoron came to dinner with us. We sat late and enjoyably. They are all off in a day or two for an Italian tour.

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Tuesday, April 28, 1959

A MAAG C-47 was going to Paris, and E, Al Wells and I took off in it from Wahn at 10 a.m., with the skillful Colonel Hoffman as pilot. There were headwinds, so, instead of meeting Secretary Herter at Orley at noon, as instructed, we arrived a half hour late.

We are staying at the Crillon, and out of one window can see the snowcaps of the chestnuts on Avenue Gabriel.

Spent the afternoon at the Embassy; [redacted] we dined tonight at the Houghtons, the most imposed upon and most amiable host and hostess in the world. Most of our delegation members were there, as well as the Lyons and others from the Embassy. Amory made a charming speech about Mac and Chris Herter - Chris was born in Paris.

After dinner, the men talked about preparations for the Geneva Conference. I held forth rather lustily on the folly of displaying any weakness in the hope of mollifying the Soviets, addressing myself particularly to the attitude I thought we should take if they turned over the Berlin control points to the GDR.

The weather was beautiful today - warm enough to dispense with an overcoat.

Wednesday, April 29, 1959

Raining this morning. Our delegation met at 8:30 in the Wallace Library under Herter's chairmanship. At 9:15, Chris, Martin

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Hillenbrand and I communed with von Brentano and his interpreter. Things went well.

Jock Whitney and I went over to the Quai d'Orsay and joined the others at 10:30. Selwyn Lloyd, von Brentano, Couve de Murville and Chris headed the national groups.

In spite of newspaper reports depicting great differences of views between the partners, there was a large measure of agreement. All were agreed on certain points:

1. There will be no accord with the Soviets on European security arrangements without simultaneous arrangements on steps to reunify Germany.

2. There will be no discrimination against Germany, except that springing from FedRep's old unilateral undertaking not to manufacture atomic, bacteriological or chemical weapons (the ABC).

3. Western powers will stand firm on Berlin.

There was much discussion of tactics. We recessed from 1:15 to 2:30 for lunch. Houghton had the Secretary, Jock, Randy Burgess, Livie, Freddie Reinhardt, Martin Hillenbrand, Selwyn Lloyd, Gladwyn Jebb, Kit Steel, Frank Roberts, Anthony Rumbold, Pat Hancock and myself as guests at 2 Avenue d'Iéna.

The afternoon session proceeded harmoniously, and it looks as if the deliberations might finish tomorrow night. My chief preoccupation,

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concern over the fall-back position on Berlin proposals, has been shelved, at least until Geneva. It was decided not to give any briefing whatever to the press on today's discussions. Journalists were in the entrance hall by dozens, and photographers by scores.

Tonight I went to a huge stag dinner given by Couve at the Quai. From our delegation, Messrs. Herter, Houghton, Whitney, Merchant, Berding, Reinhardt, Irwin, Hillenbrand and Bruce were invited. I sat between Freddie Reinhardt and Ambassador Duckwitz. There were no speeches to interfere with our attention to the excellent food, wine, and conversation.

Thursday, April 30, 1959

Raining. To Embassy, then to the Quai for a 10:30 reunion. Chris walks with the help of aluminum crutches. He is comfortable sitting or lying down, sleeps well, but standing for long periods without support is painful. He has been excellent in our meetings, courteous, intelligent, constructive, and has made a very favorable impression on his colleagues.

All outstanding differences were amiably settled this morning, and a communiqué issued before one o'clock. Couve pronounced the conference one of the most successful and expeditious he [redacted] ever attended.

Jock and I lunched at the Travellers. Afterwards, at the

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Embassy I met General Palmer, British General Stirling, a French General, Kit Steel, Francois Seydoux, Peter Wilkinson, Jack Irwin and others for a review of tri-national military contingency planning for Berlin. Got back to the hotel at 6:30.

Friday, May 1, 1959

Beautiful day. Sasha's birthday, and, for other reasons, a public holiday in Europe. She is thirteen today, and has never been anything to us other than a joy.

To the Embassy this morning. Chris held a press conference and acquitted himself well. I did a lot of telephoning to Bonn this morning, in connection with the signature of our atomic stockpile agreement. Strauss returned from the U. S. today and signed the documents this afternoon. As soon as I do so, the affair will be completed. This represents the successful end of an important, delicate, difficult and tedious negotiation.

Talked to Livie about having the Secretary stop in Bonn next Saturday, en route to Geneva, to see the Chancellor.

E and I lunched at Calvet, then went through the antique dealers' portion of the Foire de Paris, where we bought four prints of the Tuileries and Place de la Concorde in the 18th Century.

Back to the Embassy for some last minute conversations, before the Herter party took off on their return trip - it was scheduled to leave

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Orly at 7 p.m.

I dined tonight at David Schoenbrun's, 3 Avenue Bosquet, with Frank White of Time-Life and Bob Kleiman, of U. S. News and World Report. We talked until 1 a.m., after a noteworthy feat of gastronomy.

Saturday, May 2, 1959

E and I left Orly on an Air France plane at 10:40 a.m. Good weather. Cy Sulzberger was also on the plane, and we had a lengthy conversation. We came up by train from Frankfurt, and found Robbins and Helen Milbank at the house. I had never met him before - he is an attractive and intelligent man. What a delight to see Helen again! Peggy and John Ferguson [redacted] spent a couple of days at the residence while we were in Paris, but [redacted] left before our return. Tonight, the Tylers and Francis Williamson dined with us; [redacted] we had some splendid bottles of Richebourg (Domaine de la Romanee Conti) 1929. Al Wells [redacted] met us at Frankfurt, so I caught up on past cable traffic on the way to Mehlem.

In the late afternoon, E and I went to a farewell party at the [redacted]bassy Club given by the Administrative Section for the Loupes. He is due at Rio the end of this month, but because of Clare Luce's resignation as Ambassador, his plans are now somewhat murky - I wish we could keep him here a while longer.

Clare Luce's row with Senator Morse has been extensively

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reported in all continental papers. Her [redacted] indiscretion in referring to Senator Morse having been kicked in the head several years ago by a horse, as an explanation of his conduct toward her, was, to say the least, not wise. Nor was his rejoinder in calling her doctor to ask whether she was under the care of a psychiatrist a dignified performance. However, I think, all things considered, she made a mistake in resigning.

In Paris I was told of Secretary McElroy's desire to attend the Geneva Conference. This probably means he would be accompanied by at least one of the Chiefs of Staff and would be seated at the conference table. I told Livie I thought this would be a great mistake. When Charlie Wilson did the same thing at the last Geneva Conference, his presence was adversely commented upon. In this instance, McElroy's participation would be viewed, I think, as indicating some lack of confidence in Herter's ability to make decisions on his own, of course ad referendum to the President. Livie answered he himself had been entirely opposed to this proposition but had been over-ruled.

Sunday, May 3, 1959

Walked to the office this morning. Chalmers Roberts and Murrey Marder of the Washington Post came to see me. Al Wells called Dr. Bach at Cadenabbia and gave him a message from me for the Chancellor about the possibility of Chris Herter stopping here

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next Saturday. Adenauer immediately welcomed the suggestion and told me to invite Secretary Herter to lunch at Palais Schaumburg. I hope this works out.

I have just read a letter dated April 30 from the Chancellor to Foster Dulles, in the following terms:

"Dear Friend:

Permit me to express my satisfaction over the fact that the President has nominated you as his adviser. All of us, and especially I, do hope that God will give you the strength to support your own country and all countries which love freedom with your rich experiences, your ethical strength and your strong will power.

In my thoughts I am often at your hospital and very much feel with you. I am convinced your deep religious feelings will help you to carry on the tasks of your office, which you have led so many years with the greatest success. I very much hope that you have no pains that could hinder you to follow world events.

As you know, I shall probably agree to my nomination for the election as Federal President. I shall do this for state policy reasons to secure the continuation of our policies. But even then I should devote my entire strength to the

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continuation of the policies which for the past years, under the leadership of the United States, we have followed so successfully.

Please give my heartiest greetings to Mrs. Dulles and ask your brother Allen occasionally to let me know of your personal well-being. I shall be in Bonn again the 5th of May.

I send you my heartiest greetings and remain, as always,

Your

Adenauer."

Tonight we had the following for dinner: Canadian Ambassador and Mrs. Reid, Mr. Marquis Childs, Dr. and Mrs. Edward D. Myers, and Professor Arnold Toynbee.

Monday, May 4, 1959

Left at 7:45 for Heidelberg. This was the first Commanders' Conference presided over by General Eddleman. He, General Everest and I met for an hour before lunch, and raised questions about: (1) Berlin contingency planning; (2) Major training areas; and (3) Navigational requirements of army aircraft.

I thought Eddleman was a Texan, but was told today by one of his officers he was from Louisiana. At any rate, he has a magnificent

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY BONN

CONFIDENTIAL

AMB
DCM

May 4, 1959

SENT TO: DecState WASHINGTON ROUTINE 2450 AM

PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

Following is translation of undated letter received today from Chancellor to President:

"Dear Mr. President:

Permit me, please, to give expression to sentiments which weigh heavily upon me these days.

I believe I can feel with you what the resignation of our friend John Foster Dulles means to you. His tragic fate touches me deeply. From this distance I see in my mind's eye all that is happening.

Permit me further to say: I thank you personally from the bottom of my heart for having so unswervingly and with such forcefulness shown to the free peoples of the world the road to true peace and to freedom.

I am convinced that the United States of America will eventually save peace and freedom for the world.

I am, with respectful regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Adenauer"

BRUCE

AUTH: A.W. Wells

AMB/C:AWWells 2056

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Wednesday, May 6, 1959

Last night I sent off a telegram to Chris Herter in response to one from him about his forthcoming meeting with the Chancellor (see page 89).

Bill Tyler, Dave Klein and I also went over and sent off a telegram regarding some of Dr. Krone's present views, which I thought of considerable interest (see pages 90-93).

This morning I went to call on the Paraguayan Ambassador, Dr. Ramón Mendez Paiva. Afterwards, I called on the Netherlands Ambassador van Vredenburch. The latter said he thought, if a vote were taken by the German people on the neutralization of the FedRep along Austrian lines, a majority of the citizens of the Federal Republic would favor such a deal. In his opinion, this would be disastrous, would lead to the break-up of NATO, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Western Europe, the formation of a popular front government in France and Italy, and ultimately the domination of Europe by the Soviets.

Herb Altschull lunched with me. Afterwards, I saw John Bross who [redacted] came up from Frankfurt.

At 6 o'clock we had a ceremony at which I distributed awards for more than 10 years of government service to 175 employees of the Embassy. To my great surprise, I was given one for 14 years of service.

Form AID/OER-12
(Aug. 57)

FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

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SECRET — 62
CLASSIFICATION — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

5 May 1959
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 2470

EYES ONLY SECRETARY AND MERCHANT

DEPTEL 2649

Since this will be your first official meeting with Chancellor, I feel its chief value will be to reassure him that he will continue to enjoy very close personal relationship with Secretary of State. Therefore, think it unnecessary single out particular comments or topics discussion for your visit, and would suggest you let Chancellor bring up whatever subjects he pleases. He is not usually at loss for words and enjoys holding forth. His ear will, of course, be particularly receptive to expressions of firmness and resolution with regard our basic positions. Chancellor certainly does not expect much from forthcoming conference, and his misgivings about British are well known. Would advise no agenda and as much gossip as seemly.

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AUTH: David Bruce

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MAY 5, 1959 7PM
DATE

2476

SEND TO: Secstate, WASHINGTON ROUTINE

REPEAD INFO: Amembassies LONDON ROUTINE 651

PARIS ROUTINE 356

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U. S. Mission, BERLIN POUCH UNN

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Krone, CDU faction chairman who spent weekend with Chancellor in Cadenabbia and returned with him, to Bonn privately today. Chancellor returned in excellent health and spirits. Preparations for Geneva meeting had been found satisfactory, and Krone considered Brentano had handled situation very well. He and Chancellor very pleased at Secretary's forthcoming visit. Close relationship and identity of views of Secretary Dulles and Chancellor built up over years was irreplaceable but it was of utmost importance that strong, new personal tie be established. Krone would not venture opinion as to course and results of Geneva meeting and said he had "many wishes" but little optimism. He expected Berlin problem would be met by "agent" principle in some way and said he was much less concerned about possibility hostilities over Berlin than several months ago. He likes

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 91

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

85 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-2-

DATE

what was expected duration of conference to be and said Couve de Murville had talked of four weeks. Krone said Soviets are in confident mood and their goal is to bring about summit conference where Khrushchev can sit down with Eisenhower. This was something we should not hand them on silver platter but should accept only after having taken strong position and held it if necessary through long negotiations. In this connection he recalled that Hitler's success at Munich had enhanced his prestige at critical moment and warned against doing Khrushchev similar favor. Krone said German people remain extremely wary of experiments and do not want little finger extended to communists lest they seize whole hand. He was particularly irritated at recent public statement by Carstenmaier to effect that United Germany's not being in NATO would be acceptable price to pay for reunification. Krone said that statement might conceivably be sound or opportune sometime in future under different circumstances but it was most unfortunate now.

Krone expressed displeasure at US having once considered plans involving some degree "confederation" and said it would generally be better for political leaders to set down lines and scope of planning before experts began to discuss such schemes which invariably leak to press and create difficulties. He also reflected Chancellor's continued strong feelings about British and said Adenauer

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

92

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

85
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-3-

DATE

keeps coming back to speculation about what must have passed between Macmillan and Khrushchev during Moscow visit.

Krone said Chancellor was more than ever confident of correctness his decision to seek presidency and of his ability to continue to dominate and to assure continuance his foreign policy. For this purpose Adenauer preferred Etzel as his successor. From foreign policy standpoint Etzel was better man than Erhard; Etzel had more experience and clearer understanding fundamentals foreign policy. Erhard was the stronger contander because of his voter appeal on which party's 1961 success depends; Erhard was also better known abroad including US. Krone did not exclude Erhard being chosen but said that if this happened it would be necessary to put men around him who would give political balance and guidance to Erhard's primarily economic outlook. Krone evidently considered that Erhard as chancellor would not be misfortune but that role of Adenauer as president, Brentano as foreign minister and, implicitly, his own role as new party chairman and faction chairman would then assume greater importance. He believed Erhard would be amenable to guidance and sensitive to party and public opinion. Brentano, he thought, would remain as Foreign Minister, symbolizing continuity of policy whoever became Chancellor. There would, of course, be maneuvering on succession question in near future but official consultations between

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(AUG 57)

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-4-

DATE

Adenauer and CDU/CSU faction would not begin until after Adenauer's election as president July 1. After July 1 Krone planned consultation with faction Executive Committee and if appropriate would call whole faction together. It would have to be managed so that there was no open fight in party and faction. Despite Chancellor's preference for Etzel, succession was still open question.

In simultaneous conversation with another Emb officer Schroeder of Die Welt who had spent morning with Hoecherl, CSU faction leader who had also been at Cadenabbia, said latter had given same picture of Chancellor relaxed, unconcerned about Berlin, pleased with results Paris Foreign meeting, not expecting much from Geneva, and confident of own position.

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William R. Tyler

AUTH: POL: William R. Tyler

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At 8 o'clock E and I went to a housewarming given by the Marines in their new quarters.

I [redacted] scheduled to see Walter Reuther, Mr. Conway (UAW) and Willi Richter (DGB President) today, but they were delayed and never arrived.

Wonderful spring weather.

Thursday, May 7, 1959

This is a public holiday. I did some necessary cable business this morning, [redacted] then walked four miles to watch David maneuver a bicycle in his effort to achieve his ambition to be allowed to ride to school. I did not find much comfort in his performance, but have now permitted him to ride every day to Plittersdorf for baseball, so perhaps he will be moderately contented with half a cake.

It is a beautiful day.

I went to see the paintings done by the Lassetters' daughter Joan, exhibited at the Embassy Club. She has been studying in Munich and has developed a distinctive style of her own. In spite of my sentiment for her family, I was not tempted to buy any of them.

Charlie Thayer came to see me this afternoon to talk about a plan for accompanying Averell and Marie Harriman and Mary Russell to Russia. They expect to spend two months there and perhaps later to go on to China if they can obtain permission. Mary Russell is the

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widow of Ned Russell, formerly correspondent of The New York Herald Tribune, who was crippled in a motor accident years ago in California and died after a long period of being completely paralyzed. She was wonderful in taking care of him. She is a [redacted] attractive Russian-born woman.

A little later, a group of American business men, traveling under the auspices of the Department of Commerce, came to have drinks with me. They were:

Walter A. Edwards, Deputy Asst. Secy. of Commerce
Arthur C. Bartlett, Exec. V.P., J. C. Pollard Company
Charles L. Rumrill, Pres. Adv. Firm, Rumrill Co., Inc.
Wallace H. Campbell, Pres. Campbell Industrial Supply Co.
Thomas C. [illegible]lagh, Trade Mission Member
Victor J. Kreibiel, Aetna Life Insurance Co.

Charlie Thayer, Henry [illegible]a and Edmund Becker also attended.

Tonight, I went to the Hotel Petersburg to attend a dinner given by the news and advertising officials of Time-Life International. There were also present some of the representatives of the home office in New York, as well as the business group who were [redacted] my guests earlier in the day. John Mecklin presided. They were a gay, engaging lot, most of them young in years but no doubt old in skills. I got wound up on the subject of Berlin and discoursed for 45 minutes, returning home at midnight.

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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JN:

FROM: DEPARTMENT

NUMBER: 2700, MAY 7, 6 P.M.

PRECEDENCE: ROUTINE

388
CONTROL NUMBER

MAY 8, 1959
1:00 A.M.
DATE RECEIVED

PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TO CHANCELLOR ADENAUER. ADVISE DATE TIME DELIVERY.

QUOTE MAY 7, 1959.

DEAR MR. CHANCELLOR:

I AM DEEPLY MOVED BY THE HEARTFELT SENTIMENTS YOU EXPRESS IN YOUR LETTER WHICH HAS JUST REACHED ME.

SECRETARY DULLES WAS ALWAYS SUSTAINED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE VALIANT WAY YOU FACE YOUR OWN GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE TROUBLED WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. INDEED, YOUR FIRM LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO ME AND TO EVERYONE WHO CHERISHES THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARD.

SINCERELY. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER UNQUOTE

WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT PLAN TO MAKE MESSAGE PUBLIC UNLESS CHANCELLOR DESIRES DO SO. IN LATTER CASE PLEASE ATTEMPT TO GIVE US 24 HOURS ADVANCE NOTICE.

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(Feb 58)

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During the day we had great excitement over a statement imputed to General Eddleman during the course of a press conference, in which he was alleged to have said he saw no strategic disadvantage in the withdrawal of American troops from Germany. The German press is in an uproar over this, and we have been communicating back and forth with Heidelberg about it. I suggested the General correct this impression by a written statement to be read by Minister Strauss at a press conference he is having today. This was done, and I sent a copy of it to Felix von Eckardt.

Mark Childs telephoned me this evening to say he [redacted] talked with the Chancellor late this afternoon and found the Old Gentleman in a state of wrath over the statement attributed to General Eddleman. I read Mark General Eddleman's explanation, but shall now have to see that this gets to the Chancellor and is understood by him.

I wrote the following letter with some regret to President Goheen of Princeton (see page 101). I am especially sorry to miss the opportunity to see Jean Monnet on this occasion.

The result of Bill Tyler's conversation with Leduc was set forth in a message to the Department (see pages 102-104).

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May 8, 1959

Dear President Goheen:

In further relation to my letter to you of January 23, 1959, I am sorry to say it now appears most improbable I would be able to be in Princeton on June 16, 1959. Therefore, since you obviously need advance notice, I think you should definitely cancel the arrangements so kindly made for me to receive an honorary degree from Princeton University.

I am expected to attend the Foreign Ministers' Conference which commences at Geneva on May 11. It is not known how long these meetings will last, but even if they should terminate before the middle of June, it would be inadvisable for me to leave my post here after such a long absence from it.

I greatly regret not being able to take advantage of this opportunity.

My wife joins me in expressing regret to Mrs. Goheen at missing your dinner at Prospect on the Monday evening preceding Commencement.

Very sincerely yours,

David Bruce
American Ambassador

Dr. Robert F. Goheen,
President, Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.

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Saturday, May 9, 1959

Things were quiet at the office this morning. Gufler called me early at home to say Eleanor Dulles was returning immediately to Washington. I assume this means poor Foster is dying.

Wonderful sunny day for Secretary Herter's trip. He arrived at the airport at 12:30 and drove with the Chancellor to Palais Schaumburg. Berding, Becker, Merchant, Tyler and I proceeded to the Palais and joined them for lunch, together with von Brentano, van Scherpenberg, Globke, von Eckardt and Bach.

I took rough notes on Herter's conversation with Adenauer, [redacted] in an atmosphere of complete cordiality. Preceding the conversations, we had an excellent lunch with fine 1953 Rhine and Mosel wines. Adenauer said, if he became President and moved to the palace next door, he was worried as to how he could retain possession of the contents of the cellar at the Chancellery, and had instructed Dr. Globke to study the problem.

Chris left at 4:30, and E and I took the train at 6:15 for Rudesheim where we dined with Baron and Baroness Mumm. When we arrived at the Mumms', a nightingale was singing. The evening was bland, the view over the vineyards, the Rhine beyond, and Mainz and Wiesbaden in the distance, [redacted] superb.

The Peter Munsters, three Wittgensteins, Tatiana Metternich (who lives on the adjoining place), Douglas Bisaccia and others were

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there. We had a [redacted] gay dinner. The vinous feature was a 1949 Trockenbeerenauslese from our host's production - [redacted] sweet and heavy.

We barely caught the train at 11, and were home in bed at one, or, as Sergeant Golema would term it, thirteen hundred.

Sunday, May 10, 1959

Another day of perfect weather. Al Wells brought telegrams to the house, and I went over with Bill Tyler his admirable telegram summarizing yesterday's talks (see pages 107-113).

Bill and I discussed a clever, but I thought unconvincing, letter left with me by Gerry Smith, proposing a fall-back position on Berlin contingency planning.

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(AUG 57)

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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29 10 MAI 59 210
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MAY 10, 1959
12:30PM
DATE

SENT TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2530

RPTD: AMCONGEN GENEVA FOR US DELEGATION (ROUTINE) 83

AMEMBASSY LONDON (ROUTINE) 664

AMEMBASSY PARIS (ROUTINE) 873

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW (ROUTINE) 305

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Following uncleared summary 90-minute conversation Secretary with Chancellor and von Brentano Saturday afternoon May 9th.

Chancellor expressed his gratitude for opportunity give Secretary his views before Geneva Conference and, speaking from hand-written notes, held forth for over one hour on following topics:

1. Assurance that should there be changes in high offices this summer in FedRep, German foreign policy would remain unaltered.

2. Extensive review and analysis Soviet policy, objectives and methods which Germans particularly qualified to understand. Chancellor produced statistics on treaties and agreements violated by Soviet Union. He recalled his conversations with Khrushchev and Bulganin in 1955 and went into great detail on significance Soviet seven year plan, and problems inherent in Soviet relations with Communist China as expressed

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 108

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DATE

-2-

by Khrushchev, and confirmed to him last year by Mikoyan in Bonn. Said Khrushchev wants consolidate gains in Europe without war, and proceed with attempt catch up with economy United States, in hope that by eventually adding industrial resources Western Europe to those Soviet Union he would achieve decisive advantage over United States and win cold war. This why Soviet Union wants relaxation tensions.

With regard Germany, Soviet Union aims incorporate FedRep economy into its own. Political road to this would consist of SPD victory at 1961 elections, or via confederation two Germanies, which would constitute substantial move this direction.

3. Chancellor discussed Geneva and commented ironically on Working Group's exhaustive "even staggering" preparations. Said Berlin most immediate and urgent question. Stressed necessity of "untying package" proposals at right time, lest issue Berlin be somehow left behind and lost in mass proposals and counterproposals other issues. Warned against danger creation new legal basis Western rights on access which would involve destruction existing rights derived from occupation. Latter obligate Soviet Union bring about reunification Germany, and this obligation would be eliminated if fundamental basis present rights destroyed. Expressed strong gratitude US reaffirmation necessity German

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DATE

reunification in freedom in recent public address by Secretary. FedRep prepared increase technical contacts with so-called GDR, but most important achieve free movement persons between two Germanies, and end to current persecution 15 million Protestants and 2 million Catholics East Zone. Reunification Germany can be achieved only via free elections and not by mingling Communist and non-Communist regimes. FedGovt would consider any proposal latter course action completely unacceptable.

4. Mentioned recent talks with French only briefly because "had reached complete agreement on all points".

5. Dwelt at length on his concern with regard British attitude connected with Macmillan ten-day visit Moscow. "Basic change British policy" not due solely to worry about Labor Party and elections. Stressed necessity for European unity including UK for its own sake and that of rest of Europe.

6. Polish boundary question must be settled by Peace Treaty and not by "unilateral occupation". Right of human beings recognized by UN Declaration Human Rights to live in their own homes must be respected. FedRep wishes strive for reduction and removal tensions with Poland, and development mutually beneficial economic relations.

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DATE

This important because Poland Easternmost country whose civilization and culture Western in origin.

7. Chancellor turned to European Security which he termed "empty concept and empty word", since security can only be global. Traditional Soviet pressure ~~xxxxx~~ toward Mediterranean endangers Turkey, Greece, Italy and constitutes Southern jaw of pincer movement combined with pressure on Germany in North, seeking pick off all of Europe. Concept European Security outmoded because of modern weapons. Chancellor attacked concept narrow security zone in central Europe not so much because discriminating against Germany but because involving inspection German industry by Soviets which unacceptable German people. FedGovt could never accept such scheme, which aided by SPD victory, should this happen in 1961, liable wreck NATO. Chancellor asked we not forget merits general controlled disarmament which only real framework security and to which Khrushchev possibly receptive because he concerned with promotion his economic program requiring reduction armament expenditures.

In reply, Secretary stressed hope maintain ~~x~~ same close relations with Chancellor as formerly the case with Dulles. Proposed we exchange data on Soviet treaty violations (Chancellor handed over his report to

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210 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

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DATE

Merchant). Said we very conscious Soviet economic growth and informed Chancellor certain points discussion with Mikoyan which revealed latter's inability reconcile statistics Soviet agricultural labor requirements and productivity with high hopes of Soviet Govt in economic field.

Secretary discussed British Trade Mission Moscow and credit terms to Soviets envisaged by UK Govt. He said we had made strong representations to British on this point. Van Scherpenberg here stated he had that same morning called in British Ambassador and had expressed strong German reservations. Secretary said it seemed French had not done so, and von Brentano appeared take note of this.

With regard to package proposals and Berlin, Secretary said we had no desire undermine present legal basis our rights. Possibly some additional elements might be superimposed, but on no account substituted for present basis our rights, which must not be impaired. We believe British now convinced soundness this position.

Turning to British position generally, Secretary said he would not comment beyond saying he believed we had reached complete agreement that none of 3 powers would make any unilateral proposals without previous agreement, and consultation with Fed Govt.

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

112

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210
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PRECEDENCE

-6-

DATE

Final comment by Secretary concerned Algeria and fact we disturbed because we had reservations with regard present course events and how things would work out. French had tried commit us and NATO to support their policy Algeria and North Africa. Our analysis factors Algerian problem and trend nationalist sentiment in world, together with traditional US sympathy aspiration peoples to independence combined create reservations as to wisdom present French course action, though we had officially abstained from injecting ourselves in problem which treated by UN as internal French problem in spite its manifest international implications. Secretary asked if Algeria discussed recently with French and if so was it among points on which complete agreement existed with FedGovt. Chancellor and von Brentano stated no word was said about Algeria in recent talks with French. Chancellor added de Gaulle had brought up subject privately with him at Marly during Chancellor's Paris visit and had spoken optimistically as to outcome, because of development Franco-Moroccan relations; but had not discussed NATO.

Secretary said Debre, probably speaking for de Gaulle, had told him France could not approve armament 9 US squadrons each of 25 planes unless we changed our position and agreed on certain things with French.

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

113

210

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PRECEDENCE

-7-

DATE

Secretary said he had told Debre he could see no link between these problems. French attitude this respect had been surprise and created difficulties for us. Chancellor said French had said nothing of all this to him.

Secretary concluded by assuring Chancellor our awareness complexity and urgency Berlin problem, and need not to lose sight of Berlin if "package" had to be untied. He added he appreciated Chancellor's words with regard US position on reunification.

Chancellor said he hoped we would exact as high a price as possible for summit meeting and give nothing away. He thought Macmillan was being too generous in offering Soviets two hundred fifty million pounds in credits and summit conference for nothing.

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William R. Tyler

Approved in draft:
The Ambassador

AUTH: POL: William R. Tyler

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Monday, May 11, 1959

E, Al and I left Wahn at 10 this morning with Colonel Hoffman in a C-47. Two-hour flight, some of it bumpy. Gretchen and Guf met us. Elsie and Lilla Lyon are spending a week or so at our house. Elsie is ill but looks, as usual, lovely. Cecil had sent me a bottle of old brandy.

To the office and then to RIAS, where I presided over a performance of the famous Cabaret - much like the Théatre des Diseurs at Paris. It was to have been done in honor of President Heuss, but since he was indisposed and unable to come to Berlin, they [redacted] arranged for a special radio hook-up to him in Bonn.

From six to eight we had a reception - really a drinking party with buffet, for about 115 people, at 19 Spechtstrasse. There were former Prime Minister Lord Attlee (looking rather old and feeble), Sir Brian Robertson, Lucius Clay and General Graneval (the three military governors at the time of the airlift), and a variety of distinguished journalists and others of various vocations. It was a perfect early summer day, so happily we could use the garden.

Wednesday, May 12, 1959

The weather again was benign, thus the ceremonies celebratory of the tenth anniversary of the airlift were blessed. We started at 11 o'clock at Tempelhof, where the three Ambassadors, Steel, Seydoux

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and I, laid wreaths at the base of the symbolic memorial. We advanced in turn, flanked by a couple of air officers, deposited the wreaths, straightened the ribbons, and stood at attention as our respective bands played national anthems. Ditto for the German Government, and representatives of the families of fliers killed during the operation. It was a moving occasion, with thousands of spectators, many of them weeping.

Thence, we went to a buffet lunch in the Tempelhof building, given by our Colonel Beech. Lucius Clay, his charming wife, our whole delegation, and many others were there.

About 3:30 Clay, Willi Brandt and I rode at the head of a procession of cars for three-quarters of an hour through the Berlin streets, lined with spectators, applauding and waving.

A large rally in the Deutschland Halle was addressed by Messrs. Clay, Attlee, Robert Schuman, and Brandt - all made good speeches. Clay said the U. S. intended to preserve the freedom of the Berliners by whatever means were necessary. Good for him - and the statement impressed everyone.

At eight o'clock we attended a huge reception given by Brandt at the Schoeneberger Rathaus. Afterwards, Mayor and Frau Brandt received about fifty of us for a last round of eating and drinking. This concluded a strenuous and satisfying day.

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Wednesday, May 13, 1959

E and I took off in a BEA Viscount af 11:15, in clear weather, changed in Frankfurt to Swiss Air, and arrived at Geneva about 3 p.m. Tamara and Harry Villard kindly met us and took us to the Hotel Richemond.

Dined tonight, in the country, as guests of Joe Alsop, at the Gitana, a renowned restaurant, with its own little port on the Lake and a tiny garden with rare shrubs and an amusing aviary.

Nothing much has happened so far at the Conference, except the question of whether the two German delegations would be seated at the principal table was settled in the negative. Representation, for the present, of the Poles and Czechs has been shelved, so the Italians will have bleeding hearts.

Wonderful weather.

Thursday, May 14, 1959

Blue skies again. Went early to our delegation headquarters in the Consulate Annex. I share a room with Francis Wilcox, Assistant Secretary for UN Affairs, whom I have always liked so much. Read almost innumerable papers, and talked a lot.

Little for me to do this afternoon, while the Foreign Ministers were locked in inconclusive struggle. Herter put forward the Allied package plan.

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We dined tonight with the Villards at Le Chandelier, a picturesque eating joint in the charming old town.

Friday, May 15, 1959

Sunny. Gabardine suit weather. Went to 9:30 staff meeting.

Had for lunch at the Richemond grill - called the Gentilhomme and known for its excellent cuisine - Bill Stoneman (Chicago Daily News), Crosby Noyes (Washington Evening Star), Charlie Collingwood (Columbia Broadcasting), Don Cook (European edition N. Y. Herald Tribune), and E. Two and a half hours of satisfactory conversation. They all fear British "softness" will manifest itself some time during the conference.

Back to the office. Then a walk through 18th Century Geneva, and on to a reception at the Villards for the Herters. There were a couple of hundred guests.

Speeches at the Foreign Ministers' Conference ran their usual course today. Gromyko has to date been conciliatory though doctrinaire.

Saturday, May 16, 1959

Had a talk with Tommy Thompson at our headquarters this morning. He is a [redacted] skilled diplomat and charming man. I have long felt, as does he, that the Soviets, desiring a Summit meeting, may well settle on nuclear test suspension in the hope of its being considered evidence [redacted] of sufficient progress

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[redacted] to justify the later congregation of Chiefs of State. In this way, they could, if they wished, avoid reaching [redacted] definite conclusions about Berlin, a peace treaty and the rest. I think Tommy is disposed to go further than myself in considering concessions by the West, and perhaps over-estimates the importance attached by the Soviets to Western overt propaganda and subversive activities in Berlin. I wonder if he is right in thinking these might be traded (though whether we should do so is another question) for a substantial return. We both hope the subject of nuclear disarmament might be dealt with seriously at the Summit.

Fritz Molden lunched with us at the Hotel de la Paix. We had moved our belongings to it this morning from the Hotel Richemond, where we were [redacted] so cramped for space we could not even write letters. All the hotels in Geneva are packed to bursting. The Paix looks directly on the Lake, wherethe bustle of water traffic is always a welcome spectacle.

Fritz was abounding with ideas. He now publishes about twenty-eight papers in Austria. He says the Soviet Ambassador in Vienna has launched upon a campaign of entertaining almost without modern parallel. Vodka and caviar, breakfasts, lunches, dinners without number, and four regular receptions a week mark his program. I have just been reading [redacted] Marcus Cheke's biography of the Cardinal de Bermis, whose twenty-five year tenure as French Ambassador to Rome

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Chris said Foster is dying, and may do so at any moment. He is in great pain, and death would be a mercy for him.

Monday, May 18, 1959

Delegation meeting at 9:30. This is a public holiday, but the Conference goes on, regardless.

We lunched at Pierre Cartier's luxurious house on the Lake. It once formed part of the demesne of the Empress Josephine, when she lived in Geneva. My dear friend Pierre de Benouville and his wife were there, also Dessault, the famous French aircraft manufacturer, and his wife, the Villards and others. Sasha [redacted] arrived this morning from Bonn, and went off to the little family beach for swimming and a picnic. Cartier's daughter, Madame Claudel, was the hostess. The old gentleman is eighty-one, and thoroughly enjoys his life, dividing his time between the United States and Switzerland.

I had a walk and talk this afternoon with Scotty Reston, and Wellington Long, an [redacted] acute observer, came for drinks with me. Thereafter, we took a sleepy Sasha to the good Italian restaurant Roberto, where she tucked away her favorite Pasta.

Tuesday, May 19, 1959

Talk at 9 with Livie, Tommy, Gerry Smith, Loftie Becker, and Freddy Reinhardt about tactics regarding Berlin. They think we can not exact a standstill agreement from the Soviets in connection with

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a Summit conference, for if we asked for it, the Soviets would take off against high altitude flights, atomic armaments for the Bundeswehr, etc. They believe we must hope for maintenance of the status quo without any solemn engagement, with the expectation it will not be disturbed while negotiations are in process. I do not agree.

Henry Pleasants and I lunched at The Colony Club, run by an attractive Danish lady and her husband, an RAF pilot. Then I went back to the office.

This morning, Bill Tyler and I called, upon instructions from Secretary Herter, on von Brentano, to inquire about remarks attributed to him in an interview he [redacted] gave to Schröder of Die Welt. He categorically stated the account, as published by Reuter's, was untrue. Grewe was present, and said he wished he could get back to his post in Washington instead of heading the FedRep delegation at the conference sessions.

Amory Houghton and Jock Whitney arrived today to observe the local happenings. They, ourselves, Livie, Freddy and Loftie and most of the executive group, dined at the Herters'. What a nice couple Mac and Chris are! He has created a most favorable impression during the Conference. Couve de Murville was the guest of honor, and his deputy, [redacted] Lucet, with wife, was also there. Couve was amused when I told him of the nickname given by some of his diplomatic

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colleagues to Francois Seydoux. They call him the Sputnik Botschafter because of his incessant activity and travels.

About eleven, I left for the office to read and make suggestions about a paper Lottie [redacted] prepared for possible use by the Secretary at tomorrow's meeting. To bed after midnight.

News of Foster's condition is dreadful. We expect at any time to hear of his death. Thank Heaven, it has even been officially announced that he is being heavily drugged for the alleviation of pain, a treatment which heretofore he is said to have refused.

Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Von Brentano came to see Chris this morning; Bill Tyler and I were present. After concluding other business, he said the Chancellor had decided, if Foster's funeral were to be a public one, to attend it. (We had earlier been told of this by the Bonn Embassy.)

I lunched Sasha at our hotel. She is utterly sweet, responsive, unselfish, and fun to be with.

I had a conversation with Livie this afternoon about my own plans. It is agreed I shall leave about mid-September, and be replaced by Bob Murphy who, meanwhile, if current legislation is enacted, will become Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. When Bob quits that office, Livie will step into the berth. The

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Chancellor will be pleased to have Murphy here. I'll be pleased to be at home, and Livie, an extraordinarily fine and able fellow, will have passed from the frying pan into the fire.

Long talk with Paul Ward of the Baltimore Sun. I was content to find him so realistic about Berlin and Germany in general; in other words, our views coincided, the usual cause of one saying another is realistic.

The Conference is more or less deadlocked, with Ministers reading prepared statements. The Soviets are not yet ready to disclose their play. They are being polite to all except the West Germans, and continue to single out Adenauer and Strauss for scurrilous attacks, while the Pankowites lampoon von Brentano.

Dined tonight at Roberto.

Thursday, May 21, 1959

The same sunny weather. Herter sent for von Brentano, and conveyed to him the gist of a message from the President about Adenauer attending Foster's funeral. The President [redacted] discussed this with Allen Dulles, who [redacted] commented that the family would be honored. Eisenhower added a graceful invitation to the Chancellor to lunch at the White House if he came to the United States.

Secretary McElroy appeared at the staff meeting. He is a genial, Newfoundlandish type. I suggested the advisability of having

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one of the three Foreign Ministers reply to the incessant attacks upon the leaders of the FedRep Government, and not leave the onus of the rebuttal to Grewe.

David Schoenbrun, Frank White and Bob Kleiman lunched with me. The conversation ranged over everything at stake here.

I went to the meeting this afternoon at the Palais des Nations, and hope I shall not have to attend another. There were canned speeches; that of Grewe was particularly good. But we were treated to a dose of Bolz's (the East German Foreign Minister) and Gromyko's lucubrations on the dangers of FedRep militarism. They played the old records. What bores, and sententious, hypocritical ones!

This morning, Tommy Thompson [redacted] called a meeting to consider tactics regarding the Berlin problem. Much as I admire him, I fear he may miscalculate Soviet intentions to offer something substantial at the Summit.

Dined tonight with E and Sasha at the Béarn Restaurant, the only one in Geneva with a Michelin star. It justified its reputation.

Jean Monnet telephoned me here last night. He [redacted] wanted to see me before visiting the Chancellor tomorrow. In guarded language, he indicated he had further thoughts about a Franco-German union. I have considered this since I last talked to him; it would pose many difficult questions, including constitutional and administrative ones.

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I think the best way to start would be through common citizenship, with a committee appointed to study later steps. If anything could be accomplished, it would best be done while de Gaulle and Adenauer held power.

Walk and talk with John Hightower this afternoon. Dandy man, reliable and sound.

Friday, May 22, 1959

Office in morning. Lunched with Ernie Leiser, across the Lake, at the Lion d'Or. More office. Sydney Gruson came for drinks with me. Tonight, I dined at the Béarn with Mike Cowles and Ed Korry.

There are no meetings scheduled for tomorrow or Sunday. Lloyd has gone to London and Couve will probably fly to Paris. Guesses are that the Conference will last another two or three weeks. There is much speculation over whether the Westerners will be patient, not make any new proposals and drive the Russians into forcing the pace. I hope so. Bonn journalists are now laying 10 to 1 on Erhard's selection as Chancellor.

Saturday, May 23, 1959

E, Sashaand I made a joyful pilgrimage to E's Swiss school haunts. We took a nine o'clock train to Vevey, and from there a quaint train up the mountain to Chatelard where she [redacted] studied several

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years - it is now a Swiss children's school. Then we visited the Chateau de Chillon. I thought it the most interesting and, in some respects, most beautiful, fortified castle I [redacted] ever [redacted] saw We had an excellent lunch afterwards opposite the Chateau, of fresh lake fish and chicken, before proceeding by bus to Territet, to enter the English church where E was confirmed, and the nearby graveyard where her godfather, Sir John Brabazon, was buried. She seems to have got around considerably in that neighborhood as a child, for we looked at another school she had attended at Vevey, and a villa where she [redacted] lived with her mother.

We motored out to the hills above La Tour de Peilz, and had a brief look at the Slaters' Chateau de Villard. The house was closed, but we thought it a beautiful place, a small 18th Century Chateau, [redacted] fine trees and a superb view toward the lake.

We caught the 4 o'clock train at Lausanne, and returned to Geneva in ample time for dinner with the Tylers before putting Sasha on the train for Bonn.

The Tylers took us 25 kilometers into the country, to a retreat on the lake. In spite of fast motoring, we only reached the Geneva railroad station one minute before Sasha's departure, scheduled for 21:10. E, Sasha and I sprinted to the platform, followed by a gray-haired porter lugging two suitcases. My pleas to the conductor to

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wait a few precious seconds were in vain, so we hove the child aboard, and left her looking woe-begone and in the wrong carriage. Fortunately, the porter appeared just in time to get the suitcases on, complaining bitterly to the Conductor, "Hein, je n'acceuille pas une crise cardiaque."

Sunday, May 24, 1959

Bright sunshine. Spent the morning at the office, discussing and disputing future tactics. Lunched Chez Roberto, walked, read and sallied forth to dine with E, Loftie and Joe Alsop, just arrived from Budapest.

Before doing so, Mr. Krebs [redacted] called from the Delegation office to tell me of Foster's death this morning in Washington. The funeral is to be at 2 p.m. Wednesday in the National Cathedral. I am to get word to the Chancellor. Chris Herter will probably leave here Tuesday afternoon, and return for a Conference session on Friday, although this has not yet been arranged. It is dreadfully sad, although for a long time there has been no hope.

Had word tonight from Harry Schwartz that Adenauer is going to Washington.

Historians will compare Dean and Foster as Secretaries of State. So different in temperament and technique, it is a fascinating subject. [redacted] I would readily award the palm to Acheson, but

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Dulles was a truly amazing and impressive personality. By sheer pertinacity, mentality, and will, after a period of great unpopularity, [redacted] foreign and domestic, he imposed his views on the Atlantic Alliance, and became its undisputed leader. Few men have ever possessed an intellectual apparatus superior to his. His brain was an entire foreign office. Criticized for not taking more counsel from his staff, the truth is he felt little need for advice, though he listened patiently to suggestions from those he respected or thought politically important. The ultimate decisions were his own. Happily for him, he possessed, in unmeasured degree, the confidence of President Eisenhower, and was therefore properly regarded as the supreme chief of American Foreign Policy. The relationship between Janet and himself was ideal. I do not know anything of his attitude to other subordinates, but, as far as I was personally concerned, his consideration for my views was invariably indulgent, and his sponsorship of them, when accepted, was complete. I never knew him really well, though his brother Allen has been my long-time friend, and I fancy some of Foster's steady kindness to me was influenced by my friendship for Allen and, in regard to European unity, by my close association with Jean Monnet with whom he was on intimate terms.

He was quite spartan in his love of camp life and swimming in icy water, though sybaritic in his appreciation of food and wine, until

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for reasons of health he had to eschew the use of his well-chosen cellar. Afterwards, he confined himself to drinking Overholt rye whiskey, and abandoned tobacco, though offering his guests the best of those Havana cigars he [redacted] once smoked with acute enjoyment. His sense of morality was deep, though often too obtrusive, and sometimes compromised by what he considered parochial political necessities. It was best expressed in depth in his interchanges with Adenauer, a fundamentally religious man. In sum, he was a truly significant figure, who [redacted] wrested from life many of its strongly held gifts. His unflinching gallantry in illness has lent to his last days what may prove to be an evanescent sentimentality, but it is pleasing to contemplate how touched and sustained he must have been, in his physical distress, by the tributes he almost unanimously received.

Monday, May 25, 1959

Office in the morning, and again I counselled forcing the Soviets to make the first move to break the impasse. Had a talk with an old friend, Roger Massip, Diplomatic Correspondent of Le Figaro, and one this afternoon with John Hightower. Members of our delegation are preparing to scatter for a few days while Herter goes to Washington. I talked to him again about my own plans and all seems settled for September.

Received an "Eyes Only" this morning from Loy Henderson

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asking my consent to Gufler becoming Ambassador to Ceylon, to replace Berry who is resigning because of illness. I am delighted for Guf's sake - he [redacted] served once in Ceylon, was popular there, and will have a great success.

E [redacted] lunched with Mac Herter and Helen Philbin, and marked down a dozen late 17th Century sporting prints. I went to see them late this afternoon and bought them for $345. This did not seem extravagant after I [redacted] read this morning of the sale at auction in New York of the contents of Thelma Foy's houses for $2,600,000. Her excellent Renoir went to her brother, Walter Chrysler, Jr., for almost $250,000. With prices on the New York Stock Market the highest in history, the sky is becoming the limit on furniture, pictures and objets d'art.

Dined tonight at the Restaurant L'Or du Rhone - the best and most sympathetic place of my gustatory experience to date in Geneva.

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Day of departure. Delegation meeting. I talked to Chris; he asked me to give him a memorandum on what the President might discuss with Adenauer when they lunch together in Washington.

Vicious East German Government-controlled press and radio attacks have reached a new low - the last one brought to our notice accuses Herter and von Brentano of homosexuality.

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Couve and Selwyn Lloyd are going over on the plane with the Secretary. Gromyko also was asked, as soon as it was known - to everyone's surprise - he intended to be present at Foster's funeral. However, he wished to have two Soviet travelling companions with him, and, as there was not space available, he will go by a commercial line. Adenauer, von Brentano, Grewe, von Braun, and possibly other West Germans, are leaving from Cologne on a chartered plane.

All European newspapers have been devoting great amounts of space to Dulles's life and death, and have been [redacted] flattering, with the exception of the East German press.

Wellington Long came to see me before I left. E and I stopped on our way to the airport to see Voltaire's town residence "Les Delices", now a public museum. It is an attractive 18th Century house, and when, as was true in his time, it was surrounded by vineyards, orchards and farm land extending to the lake, it must have been a delightful retreat, although the stern city fathers of those times did not permit Voltaire the diversions, such as private theatrical performances, of which he was such an enthusiast. I did not have a chance to see his country place, Ferney. E visited Madame de Staël's chateau at Coppé - it is still owned by a lineal descendant, and has some interesting relics of the Necker family in it.

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We left Geneva with regret. The old part of the city is fascinating, and contains houses of unusual architectural distinction. Moreover, the city is [redacted] cosmopolitan, and seems to appeal to people of all nationalities as a place of residence.

We lunched deliciously at the airport, [redacted] had a fine hour and forty minute flight on a Swiss plane to Frankfurt. The train ride to Mehlem consumed another three hours, and it was wonderful at the end of it to receive a joyful welcome from the children and dogs.

Bill Tyler is returning to Bonn today, and we will both be on call for the rest of the Conference.

Wednesday, May 27, 1959

I was [redacted] glad to be at the office again.

Patrick Coyne of the National Security Council, Merrill Hammond, Chairman of the State-Defense Military Information Control Committee, and C. O. Rowe, Defense member S/DMICC, came to see me this morning.

My friend Clarence Miles from Baltimore, Counsel for the Martin Aircraft and Missile Company and a member of its Executive Committee, lunched with me and talked about the possible acquisition by his company of an interest in the German Heinkell aviation firm.

Because of Foster's funeral, which took place at 2 p.m. this

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afternoon, in Washington, we closed the Embassy early.

Thursday, May 28, 1959

Once anticipated as a fateful date because of the Soviet ultimatum, May 27 has passed without incident at Berlin. It is a coincidence that the Dulles funeral took place on the same day.

We are having a two day meeting of Public Affairs officers, and I talked to them this morning about what happened at Geneva.

Tyler, Schwartz, Klein and Radius conferred with me on various problems regarding access to Berlin.

This afternoon Joseph Slater, of the Ford Foundation, whom I have known for many years, came in to talk over various projects, especially of an economic nature, which he has under consideration to propose to his trustees. He is an exceptionally bright young man. I regret I did not draw from him his views on the possibility of establishing in the United States a periodical like the British Economist. Such a project has often been played with but never brought to fruition.

I went this evening to call on the Portuguese Ambassador, Laborinho, at his house. We shared port and caviar, and I had a [redacted] agreeable conversation with him about his beautiful [redacted] country.

Tonight E and I went to see "Gigi" at the movies. I thought the film adaptation from this famous short story by Colette was admirably done, although, as usual, many liberties were taken with the

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Saturday, May 30, 1959

At the office this morning. The Attachés [redacted] asked their foreign colleagues to attend our Memorial Day celebration at the Embassy flagpole today, and I was to deliver a short address I had prepared last night. However, upon being informed of the Chancellor's expected arrival at Wahn Airport at 11:45, I went with E to meet him. Clare Timberlake delivered my Memorial Day speech for me (see page 138).

Adenauer looked in splendid health and [redacted] accompanied on the plane by one of his daughters, Frau Grewe, von Braun, Weber and others. He told me he [redacted] many Senators in Washington of both parties and found them united on a bipartisan foreign policy. Also, he thought President Eisenhower was in better physical and psychological condition than he had ever known him to be. He spoke sadly of how he missed Foster Dulles.

E and I went to the Cuban National Day Reception at the Embassy Club.

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MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

It is most fitting to commemorate the dead, especially those who have fallen on fields of battle.

In the course of American history, great numbers of men and women have made the Supreme Sacrifice, in wars both foreign and domestic.

Our Government has designated various dates for national celebration - amongst them Thanksgiving and Memorial Day. One is a time to acknowledge the blessings of Almighty Providence, the other to honor those who gave their bright youth [illegible]ble causes.

On this foreign soil, where many of our own lie buried, we represent part of a host of fellow-countrymen who, all over the world, are pausing for a moment to pay homage to soldiers, sailors, and airmen to whom we owe the enjoyment of our present liberties.

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Sunday, May 31, 1959

Bill Tyler came out with some telegrams this morning. Then E and I went to church, where the pastor preached a sermon on "Heaven". His thesis was that, if mortals knew how attractive would be their lives in heaven, they would long to quit the earth at once. This appeared to me to be unusual reasoning.

This afternoon we went to the Little League baseball game, but neither of our youngsters emerged from the dug-out, although their team, the Electrons, won. They make up for lack of activity on the diamond by throwing balls around at home in rooms, corridors and the garden, together with incessant talk on baseball subjects.

Monday, June 1, 1959

Continuing fine weather. I attended the dedication of the school extension this morning at Plittersdorf, and made the following address (see pages 140-143).

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SCHOOL EXTENSION DEDICATION ADDRESS

I am especially glad to be present today at the dedication of this building, for the project it represents at one time caused me considerable concern. My own information about it was chiefly derived from Bill Trimble and Bob Loupe who, as many of you know, reviewed the problem with exhaustive, conscientious and imaginative persistence.

All of us have contributed a mite to the present achievement in purely monetary terms, for each time we have bought an item at our stores, which has yielded a profit, a portion of it has been diverted from our surplus funds to this enterprise. The same is even more true of our predecessors in the Community, from whom we inherited substantial balances.

Two interesting questions involving matters of judgment were, amongst others, presented. First, should the Community members who do not have children, or else no children of appropriate school age, or who for other reasons are not actual or prospective users of such facilities be, in effect, taxed for this construction? Second, was there a distinct, indeed an overwhelming need for the extension?

As regards the first question, I think it was rightly settled in the affirmative, for the same objection could properly have been raised in regard to a swimming pool, bowling alleys, tennis courts, dance bands, and many other amenities established and maintained

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at our common expense. Moreover, at home every citizen is levied upon for support of schools, regardless of use, in greater degree, on the whole, than for support of any other public operation. In our national life we have, I believe, wisely regarded education as a primary objective in our civilization.

I shall now address myself to the answer to the second question, and then, since it may prove useful as a record in future, specify in some detail what has been accomplished.

Before doing so, I should like particularly to remark that this development would have been impossible had it not been for the tenacity and admirable civic spirit displayed by those of our friends who dedicated themselves to its fulfillment. Also, I should like to acknowledge, on behalf of all of us, our continuing indebtedness to Army headquarters at Heidelberg for their constant generosity and sustenance of this educational installation.

The student enrollment of the American School on the Rhine has grown over the period of the last few years. Today we find that the students far outstrip the school facilities, and that rooms in the gymnasium and the church are used for instruction purposes. The inadequate school area was recognized as a Community problem, and energetic action taken to meet and solve it.

The new building you see before you today represents the successful culmination of the largest Community effort undertaken to date.

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In June 1958 Mr. Trimble and the School Committee reviewed plans calling for seven additional classrooms, a science room, a library workroom and a large recreation hall. These ambitious plans were designed to solve the contemporary problem, and make provision for further growth. However, a scrutiny of funds available from the Community Services indicated that about $40,000.00 could be allocated for the school expansion program without undue danger to the maintenance of minimum financial reserves. These funds were not enough to support the original conception. A further study of the situation was made, revisions were submitted and accepted as the present solution.

This wing now consists of four classrooms of approximately 78 square meters each, a science room of 103 square meters, and a large recreation hall. The total area is 690 square meters. The most modern equipment and design features have been incorporated in the wing.

Construction commenced on November 20, 1958. The roof-raising ceremony was held on February 20, 1959. Work during the winter months reflects the efficiency of the contractor.

Costs have been kept to a minimum. The building itself totals about $38,800.00. The interior equipment, including light fixtures, classroom equipment, science room, experimental tables, etc., comes to $1200.00; so you see that the whole expenditure falls within the allocated limit of $40,000.00.

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At the present time, there are 272 students in the American School on the Rhine, plus 34 children in the Kindergarten. Of the students in the large school, we find not only that the United States is represented but also the following countries: Germany, Korea, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Canada, Pakistan, The Netherlands, Japan, Turkey, The Philippines, The Dominican Republic, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Iceland, Belgium, The United Arab Republic, and Vietnam.

We are proud to be able to dedicate this building for the education of the children of the international community in the capital of the Federal Republic. It stands as a monument to the ability of a democratic community to solve its own problems. It represents our confidence in the future of the youth of the world.

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This afternoon Tyler, von Elbe and I went to the Defense Ministry where we met Kit Steel, Francois Leduc (in Seydoux's absence), General Gale and others in Strauss' office. Herr Strauss was in a jubilant humor, having just returned from Munich where his wife had presented him with a son.

Our subject was Alert Measures, a matter that has been dragging on for years. We took certain steps calculated to bring about a solution.

This little expedition consumed 3 1/2 hours, at the end of which E and I went to the South African National Day reception at the Redoute. Upon leaving there, we went to our "Town Hall" meeting. The occasion evidently had not aroused much interest, for only 30 or 40 people attended. I made a few remarks to them:

> "The Town Meeting is, as far as I am aware, a typically American institution. When those forebears of ours landed near the rather dismal Plymouth Rock, they found none of the romantic and alluring environment publicized in connection with the Spanish Conquest of South America. Instead, nature was harsh and, after initial encounters with natives, more remarkable for their physical courage than for interest in the intricacies of the Christian faith, the Fathers recognized the necessity for a political organization.
>
> Their method of effectuating this was to invent the practice of common assembly and the expression of

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individual opinion, most often and quite naturally directed to complaints against authority. The result was, as has proved generally customary in history, that the Community leaders, after listening to the views of the multitude, proceeded quite calmly to execute their own policies, observing always cautiously, that they were carrying out the expressed desires of the Community.

With the passage of time, this habit of the Town Assembly has wisely persisted, but the principle of representation has somewhat changed. As is the practice in business corporations, the shareholders elect a board of directors which, in turn, delegates the transaction of routine affairs to an executive committee. When the decisions of this executive committee have been ratified by the board of directors, then the shareholders are entitled to approve or disapprove the actions taken. Similarly with us, if I understand the process, we have the right here, in our assembly, to confirm or deny the propriety of the past actions of those to whom we have delegated responsibilities. This is characteristic of the democratic process in action."

Then we went directly to the auto ferry and arrived at 8:30 at the Hotel Petersberg for the reception given by the Chancellor for the members of the International Journalists' Institute. Most of the Diplomatic Corps was present.

Unable to do much foraging in the crush, I felt peckish upon leaving there and, after dropping E at home, went to the

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Schaumburger Hof for a shack. The proprietor joined me and opened a bottle of what he said was his best wine, an Ockfener Feinste Auslese 1949. It was truly perfect, and when I left about midnight I had arranged to buy some of it.

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

I attended the Economic Officers' meeting this morning and summarized what had happened thus far at Geneva.

Harrison Lewis and Raymond Ludden were both here from their Consulates before going away on leave.

I went back to the Economic Officers' meeting this afternoon to listen to excellent expositions on the Common Market, Free Trade Area and European Integration.

Barry Bingham spent the evening with us, and returned to Duesseldorf after dinner. He is not optimistic at this time about the prospects of the Democrats electing a President in 1960. He thinks Nixon's strength is greatly under-estimated. Also, he anticipates a bitter fight in the Democratic Convention at Los Angeles, since no presently announced candidate would seem to have good prospects of obtaining a bloodless majority. Although he is a great friend of Stevenson, he is in the dark as to Adlai's real intentions and thinks he might be a compromise nominee. Barry is an unusually fine and charming man.

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Wednesday, June 3, 1959

I met this morning six recently arrived MAAG Navy Section Officers: Commanders Neal and Beavers, Lieutenants Barkley, de Lozier, Lashley and MacFarlane.

Hugh Appling and Dr. Russell came to see me about the affairs of the Community Church. The visit cost me $1,000.

Dr. and Mrs. Brode lunched with us. He is the Science Adviser to the Department of State, an organic chemist by profession, and they have just arrived here during a tour around the world, commencing with the Far East. He has a vital and entertaining mind. He told me, much to my surprise, that English, Russian, German, Japanese and French were, in that order, the languages most used in scientific publications. During his recent trip to Russia, he ascertained that the great majority of Russian scientists read English. Dr. Brode speaks Russian himself and thinks all our young people should be instructed in it. He was amazed at the progress of and interest in science displayed in Japan. He believes the Chinese Communists quite capable of making marked scientific progress. He was told by a Chinese in Taiwan of the large number of colleagues who had remained behind on the mainland and whose work is highly esteemed by the State.

Edwin Paxton, Jr., Editor of the Paducah Kentucky Sun Democrat,

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[redacted] called on me. He is in Germany on an American journalists' tour sponsored by the United States Army. I found him [redacted] agreeable. He is a friend of John Cooper and Barry Bingham.

I met three new members of our staff this afternoon, Dr. Paul Sweet (he had once been with me in OSS), Robert H. Marsh and James Mattson.

This is a sunny day, warm enough for swimming.

Thursday, June 4, 1959

I attended the Political Officers' Conference this morning, where representatives from our various consulates [redacted] gathered, and talked to them about the Geneva Conference.

I notice the press does not seem to have played up what seemed to me the attractive slogan used by our people at the Conference, "The Soviet plan for the permanent partition of Germany."

General Steinbach brought Major General Edwin J. Messinger to see me. He has just arrived from Karachi and reported it was almost impossible to work there because of the heat. He is preparing for duty as Director of Military Assistance Affairs.

Steinbach and I went over the findings of the man-power survey for MAAG. It looks as if MAAG strength for the next fiscal year will amount to about 159 officers and men. This is the largest single element in our establishment.

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The new Swiss Ambassador Escher came to see me. He is from Zurich and was assigned here after 4 1/2 years as Ambassador to Italy, where he was a friend of Virginia and Ashley Clarke. Like all members of his Service whom I have ever met, he gives the impression of being a thoroughly competent individual.

This afternoon I met five of our recently assigned clerks.

We went to a dinner tonight given by the Steinbachs in honor of the Lassetters who are soon leaving. The other guests were State Secretary for Defense Dr. Josef Rust and Major General and Mrs. Hellmuth Reinhardt.

I was especially glad to see Rust there, for I had an important matter to take up with him on behalf of General Eddleman. It seems the German Army, contrary to the explicit directives of USAREUR, [redacted] moved a tank battalion into the Grafenwohr training center for permanent stationing. This is a U. S. training area which is used by ourselves and the Germans on a rotating basis. We are anxious to clear up this affair before it engenders ill-will. Dr. Rust said the Minister would send a general officer down to discuss this tomorrow with General Eddleman.

In a rather guarded way, he spoke of the possibility of Erhard not becoming, as has been generally expected, Chancellor. The import of this became clearer when I returned home and learned, in

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the course of a telephone conversation with Bill Tyler, of the announcement this evening of Adenauer's decision to continue as Chancellor. The Old Gentleman has apparently been ruminating over this matter at least since he spoke to me of it at Cadenabbia. I assume he has given up hope of being able to name Etzel as his successor.

Friday, June 5, 1959

All attention this morning was concentrated on the Chancellor's dramatic reversal of his decision to seek the presidency and to remain in his present office. The Bundeshaus is in an uproar; his own Party is gravely disturbed, the opposition is jubilant, and it is going to take some fancy footwork to enable him to extricate himself from the delicate position in which his adversaries think he has been maneuvered. The rumor is he wishes to put Etzel forth as the Party candidate for the presidency. Meanwhile, Erhard is in Washington, consternated by these unexpected tidings. It is reported that Adenauer told his own Faction he was largely motivated in arriving at his determination by conversations with President Eisenhower in Washington.

Jean Monnet called me this morning to talk about his recent visit to the United States and the trip he intends to make there next week. He said he saw Adenauer in Bonn just before they

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both went to America for the Dulles funeral, and the Chancellor made clear to him his intention to remain in his present office. Jean tried to telephone this to me in Geneva but I was at a meeting and he was unable to reach me. He also discussed with Adenauer, in general terms, what we now call the "Grand Design". Although there was no agreement whatever reached as to a future course of action, he thinks the Adenauer decision not unconnected with future possibilities in this direction.

John Bross came up from Frankfurt this morning, and we lunched in the Embassy restaurant, together with Elms, Timberlake, Tyler and Bolton. John is leaving shortly for transfer to Washington, and I am sorry to have him go.

The Japanese Ambassador Takeuchi called on me this morning to thank us for the American influence in GATT that he thinks was helpful in bringing about a change in German regulations to permit freer importation into Germany of Japanese goods. Of course, we discussed the Adenauer move and the possibility he will be attacked on the grounds of being somewhat senile, and even of needing psychiatric treatment. It is certainly a startling development, and we shall be following its results closely and sending out a stream of telegrams about it.

I went to Cologne this afternoon and called successively on

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Swiss Ambassador Escher and Colombian Ambassador Lopez, before joining E at a reception at the Swedish Embassy.

From there we went on to a cocktail party given by Count and Countess Oeynhausen-Sierstorpff. The majority of the guests were young German men and women we had met at various times in different parts of the country. They were exceptionally gay and attractive. Most of the men are active in business or else engaged in administering their own country estates, which here seems to be almost universally profitable. It was a delightful party.

Saturday, June 6, 1959

At the office this morning, considering the repercussions of Adenauer's bombshell announcement. We summarized the immediate political reaction in a telegram sent off last night (see pages 153-154), and will follow this with further messages.

Flora Gruson came to see me, and we talked about the Chancellor's decision to remain in his present office. It has been greeted with almost unanimous disapproval in the German press.

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OUTGOING AmEmbassy BONN

153

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Control: 159

Date: JUNE 5, 1959
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CA/RUN 2
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SENT TO: SecState, WASHINGTON NIACT 2729
REPT INFO: AmConsen GENEVA NIACT 118
AmEmbassy PARIS ROUTINE 937
AmEmbassy London ROUTINE 719
DEPARTMENT FOR Mr. MURPHY

Adenauer has addressed letter to chairman CDU Bundestag faction saying that he will not repeat not run for presidency but will remain Chancellor. Letter allegedly says light this decision reached in Geneva discussions and views of American Government made known to him on recent visit there.

Adenauer met with Executive Committee CDU/CSU Bundestag faction this morning and he reaffirmed this position saying specifically again his decision based on views President Eisenhower that It important he remain actively at helm Federal Government especially in difficult period international negotiations ahead. Chancellor is now in meeting with cabinet and will lead special faction meeting at one o'clock. It has not yet been possible reach faction leaders but Rasner, CDU whip who took part Executive Committee meeting this morning but did not have time discuss in detail said Chancellor remains Chancellor and Party Chairman and his decision is firm and will remain so."

There is unprecedented confusion and discouragement throughout CDU/CSU faction where Adenauer's tactics are considered embarrassing and lunacy. Even among those at lower levels completely devoted Adenauer policies most frequent remark is that "this is case for psychiatrist."

159 CONFIDENTIAL
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TELEGRAM Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING

154

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Control: 159

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Date:

CDU leaders especially, but also others, express concern that Adenauer will have lost respect and authority in party, that stability and cheerfulness Federal Republic politics and CDU will be questioned everywhere abroad. Nevertheless, Adenauer is reported to have said to Etzel who warned against these consequences that there would indeed be uproar but it would die down in few days. At least one CDU deputy, Kommer, added that Adenauer's popularity remaining unweakened and public would continue willing accept his decision as wise and necessary in any case.

Adenauer letter to faction proposed Etzel as presidential candidate and much of irritation in CDU is being directed at him for willingness by party to succumb such disruptive measures. There are conflicting reports about his acceptance of nomination but it is widely believed he has agreed on condition faction willing. Whether this will be case probably will be determined this afternoon.

BRUCE

AUTH:POL: William R. Tyler

WLK:eaf:plm:jo

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Catherine and Kit Steel lunched with us. Kit is still worried over the anti-British bias of Adenauer. He invited us to go fishing today or tomorrow on the Aar, and I regret not being able to do so. Although the river is low, because of the unprecedented drought, his stretch is yielding more trout and grayling than in preceding years. He took seven good trout on dry flies in one evening earlier this week.

Isaac Grainger, President of the Commercial and Corn Exchange Bank of New York, with his wife and his German specialist, Mr. Gottwald, came in for drinks this afternoon. He had [redacted] lunched with Etzel. My brother Jim is a member of his Board of Directors and a close friend. The Corn Exchange has just arranged to merge with the New York Trust Company. I found the Graingers uncommonly agreeable.

Tonight E and I went to the June Ball at the Embassy Club. We had a table for eight. The skits performed by members of the community were of a semi-professional order, [redacted] well done and amusing.

Sunday, June 7, 1959

I went down this morning to lunch with Nelson Slater at Bad Homburg, a spa I never previously visited and have long wanted to see. It is crowded this season. The cure facilities are located in a

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small and pretty park. However, as a resort, it is evidently no longer the focus of attraction it was at the end of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century, when it attracted visitors from all over the Atlantic world and was the center of gambling and horse racing. Nelson came back with me and spent the night with us. He is in good health again, and the hemorrhage in his eye has cleared up.

The reports coming from Geneva to our office, covering conversations at secret meetings between the four Foreign Ministers, do not reveal any signs of real progress. Nevertheless, the Soviet habit of delaying the statement of their real position until the concluding days of a conference must be borne in mind as a possible source for limited optimism. The Soviet foreign policy continues to be, as Winston Churchill described it 20 years ago, "A riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

Monday, June 8, 1959

I had expected Amos Peaslee and his wife for lunch, but they called to say they were leaving sooner than expected to return home. He was my chief in the courier service in 1919, and I was anxious to see him again.

Morris Helitzer of McGraw-Hill Publications came to talk over the recent Adenauer pronouncement on remaining in his present

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office.

The personnel boys in the Department are trying another of their many raids on this embassy. I hope we can repulse what seems to me an especially ill-planned attack, to remove Bill Ockey from here and send him to Vienna.

Nelson Slater left this morning, taking Black Dog with him. Black Dog [redacted] confronted his son Hugo for about a minute. I never saw a finer instance of lack of [redacted] family affection. They immediately snarled at each other, and I think would have been at one another's throats if the father had not beaten a retreat and gone away to resume his cure.

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

I have been concerned over developments in the situation regarding the permanent stationing of a German unit in the training area of the U. S. forces at Grafenwohr. On June 3, General Eddleman sent a strong message of protest against this action to the Minister of Defense (see pages 158-159).

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General Eddleman asked me to follow it up with Herr Strauss. I consider the telegram injudicious in tone and think the matter could have been handled in a more tactful way, although Eddleman's attitude seems thoroughly well founded.

Eddleman's relationship with the Ministry of Defense and members of the German armed forces has always been excellent, but I think, although properly nettled over this affair, he was mistaken in not keeping it in soldier channels rather than directing his protest to the Minister of Defense. Be that as it may, finding Strauss unavailable, I saw Dr. Rust, his deputy, on June 4, and told him of the serious view I took of this infraction of our established arrangements. He was familiar with the instance, said there must be a misunderstanding and a general officer would be sent by the Ministry to Heidelberg the following morning to clear it up.

I [redacted] supposed the fog would be quickly dissipated but this morning found the situation unchanged, no German officer having shown up at our headquarters at Heidelberg. I spoke to General Heusinger about it this noon. He said it had been called to his attention yesterday, the first day he was back in his office since his trip to Greece, and he [redacted] directed the expedition of General Cranz, his G-3, to Heidelberg. He was to have been there yesterday afternoon or this morning. On the strength of this, I telephoned Eddleman

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and found Cranz had not appeared, but [redacted] made an engagement to see the American G-3, General Johnson, on Thursday of this week. The question of our exclusive jurisdiction over this particular area is at stake.

Dr. Schuetz and his wife called on me this morning. He is the head of Kuratorium unteilbares Deutschlands, the organization which has distributed Brandenburg Gate pins by the millions. He came in to report on his recent trip around the world. The things that seem to have impressed him most were the prosperity of Hong Kong and the beauty of San Francisco.

We had a farewell lunch today for the Lassetters, with the following guests: General and Mrs. Adolf Heusinger (Chief, German Armed Forces), Brig. General and Mrs. Gerhard Wessel (Chief, Intelligence, German Armed Forces), Col. and Mrs. Desmond Deane-Freeman (Military Attaché, Embassy of Canada), Mr. and Mrs. Henry Tasca, Maj. General and Mrs. Herbert Thatcher, and Brig. General and Mrs. Richard Steinbach.

Afterwards, I made a short address to the Air Force Cadets who visited the Embassy today, and said more or less as follows: (see page 160).

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"I am very glad to join in welcoming you here in what I might call a typical American Embassy atmosphere.

As you receive briefings this afternoon you will, I think, realize that in Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, military, political, economic, intelligence and information activities are interdependent. Just as in a military sense, the Air Force can not operate entirely on its own, but must be in partnership with the Army and Navy, so in U. S. Government establishments abroad, all actions are interrelated.

The question of Berlin is a typical example. While our statesmen at Geneva are dealing with the problem on a political level, the armed services are engaging in complex military planning. Economic considerations are importantly involved and have to be taken into account. Intelligence sources seek to keep us posted on the designs and capabilities of enemies, actual or potential. Information specialists strive to inform, and often to influence, the public in favor of our policies.

I hope you will find a description of some of our Embassy operations interesting and useful."

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Wednesday, June 10, 1959

The new Thai Ambassador Jayanama came to see me this morning. He has recently arrived here via Rome, where his brother has been Ambassador for the last six years. He worked closely in Thailand with the OSS during the war and we have several mutual friends.

I gave a stag lunch today in honor of Admiral Dennison, with the following other guests: Commander John O. Sherman, Jr., Commander Eric W. Pollard, and Captain Frank H. Brumby (all of Admiral Dennison's party), Vice Admiral Friedrich Ruge (Ministry of Defense), Commander Robert Gysae, (Ministry of Defense), General Thatcher, Captain Estabrook, Captain Scott, Lt. Col Baker, Lt. Commander Morgan and Al Wells.

Afterwards, Bill Tyler brought my friend, Carl Burckhardt, to see me. I have always considered him one of the most talented men in Europe. He is now devoting himself to writing and the management of his family businesses, and I think is finding more pleasure in it even than he did in his distinguished public career. He is a wise man and has a particularly engaging personality. He is staying here with President Heuss.

We hit the cocktail circuit and attended a reception given by the Buergermeister of Bad Godesberg at the Redoute, then a National

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Day celebration given by the Uruguayan Ambassador at the Embassy Club.

I received this afternoon for transmission to Chancellor Adenauer the following letter from Secretary Herter. I was rather asham d when I observed it had been ten days in transit from Geneva.

"Geneva

June 1, 1959

Dear Chancellor Adenauer:

It was a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to talk to you again last week in Washington although I would have preferred that we might not have been drawn together by the tragic circumstances of John Foster Dulles' funeral. I know your presence in Washington was a source of great comfort to President Eisenhower and I should add that your willingness to undertake what must have been a wearing trip was for all Americans a further evidence of the strong ties of friendship and respect which have grown between our two countries and for which you and Mr. Dulles are in a large measure responsible.

I was impressed by the statement in your letter of May 21st to the effect that, in the final analysis, only the conclusion of an agreement for controlled disarmament applying both to conventional and atomic weapons will create a climate permitting the solution of the problems which occupy the attention of all of us. As you are aware, President Eisenhower attaches great importance to this idea, and we shall have it very much in mind in our discussions with the Soviet representatives here in Geneva. If our efforts here do achieve a measure of progress which will justify holding a Summit

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conference, we shall certainly want to put a major emphasis on the topic of disarmament at such a meeting.

I was deeply touched by your remarks about the development of a personal friendship between us. Knowing how much Foster cherished his close relationship with you, Mr. Chancellor, I assure you that, for my part, I shall do everything within my power to merit your personal esteem and confidence.

With warmest personal regards,

Most sincerely,

Christian A. Herter."

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Roy Lassetter brought in his replacement, Colonel Simenson, to see me.

I had a call from Max Krebs at Geneva, saying the Secretary would like me to come down there as soon as possible and attend a lunch he is giving for Mayor Brandt tomorrow, at which he expects the question of holding the election for President in B[redacted]gain be discussed. I thrashed around in a[redacted]attempt to ge[redacted]al plane passage, but fortunately was saved from what [redacted]ossible complications by finding I could go there in an Air Force plane from the squadron station in Frankfurt and return the following afternoon. This I did, and had a fine ride down on a C-54. We made the journey i[redacted]ours and fifteen minutes.

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Before leaving, Herb Altschull had lunch with me.

I had a room at the Hotel des Berges and dined with the Herters. The only others there were John McCone, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and his wife. Chris [redacted] met Gromyko privately this afternoon and found he had not budged from his previous position. He became incensed when the Secretary likened his recent proposals to Hitlerian tactics, but otherwise the conversation proceeded calmly and futilely. Herter advised him he had ordered his plane on a stand-by basis and did not intend to continue indefinitely frittering away time at Geneva. It was agreed there would be new meetings commencing Monday and all would work long hours to see whether they could arrive at some agreement.

We had an absolutely delightful evening, the Herters completely relaxed and, as usual, warm and [redacted] sympathetic.

Friday, June 12, 1959

There was a Plenary Meeting this morning at 10 o'clock, for which I yielded my seat to John McCone, since this will be his only opportunity to view such proceedings. Things were [redacted] quiet at the delegation office, the general expectation being that the conference might wind up by the end of next week.

I [redacted] saw Sydney Gruson at midnight last evening and also met some of our correspondents this morning. They seem unanimous in

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considering the presentation of the Western case as having been well done and the Soviets placed at a propaganda disadvantage.

I lunched at the Herters'. Nothing substantial was accomplished at the morning meeting. Messrs. von Brentano, Brandt, Senator Klein, Grewe, Selwyn Lloyd, Pat Hancock, Tony Rumbold, Charles Lucet, Jean Laloy, Livie, Tommy Thompson and myself were there. After a long lunch, von Brentano and Brandt presented their respective and conflicting points of view on the desirability of holding the presidential elections in Berlin on July 1. The Foreign Ministers had already resolved not to express an opinion in the matter and were in the process of so stating when I had to leave for the airport.

Henry Pleasants accompanied me on the flight back, and we went directly from Wahn Airport to the Lassetters' farewell reception at the Embassy Club.

Tonight we had the following guests for dinner: Ambassador of Belgium and Baroness de Gruben, Ambassador of The Netherlands and Mrs. van Vredenburch, Ambassador of Spain and Marquesa de Bolarque, Minister of the Interior and Mrs. Schroeder, Mrs. Franz Etzel, Mr. and Mrs. Berthold von Bohlen und Halbach, the Ernest Leisers, Clare Timberlakes, Al Wells, Don Junior, and Mrs. Maya de Montaudouin.

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Etzel [redacted] dropped out since the budget debate is expected to go on late into the night.

I [redacted] talked after dinner with Schroeder, who has backed Adenauer wholeheartedly in his decision to remain as Chancellor. He thinks the excitement over it will soon die down.

Saturday, June 13, 1959

The Pattens [redacted] arrived yesterday to stay with us, and they, [redacted] Maya de Montadouin and Al Wells went with us by train to Aachen this morning. We lunched at the Kurhaus Hotel, then went to see the little Pire Village under the guidance of the German who controls the undertaking. It was [redacted] interesting. The occupants were all displaced persons, most of those we saw being families. Everything was spotlessly clean in the small but comfortable houses erected at a cost of about $9,000. each, contributed by private people in Western countries. This movement, thanks to Father Pire, who must have an [redacted] extraordinary personality, is spreading fast. Similar villages have already been established in several localities in Germany and it is intended to locate them in various parts of the continent.

We made an extensive visit to my favorite German cathedral and again marveled at its treasures.

I [redacted] read the telegrams this morning before leaving, but there

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was nothing of particular moment in them. I was glad to learn of a conference at Heidelberg which had satisfactorily settled the problem of permanent stationing of German troops in our areas.

We arrived back at Mehlem in time for dinner, at which the Pattens, Francois Seydoux, Countess Werthern, Prince and Princess Ludwig zu Sayn Wittgenstein and the Harry Schwartzes joined us.

Sunday, June 14, 1959

Office this morning. Went with the Pattens and E at noon to see Francois Seydoux at Schloss Ernich. French Ambassadors have occupied this splendid property for some years, and their Government has recently bought it. It is about 15 minutes distant by motor from Bad Godesberg. The house is the finest in this vicinity and the view from the terrace over the Rhine one of the most spectacular in the world.

The Pattens lunched with us, then went off for sightseeing before taking the train from Cologne to Paris. It was a beautiful, medium cool summer day.

We have decided this year to give the 4th of July reception at the Redoute instead of in the official residence. If it should rain, since our house could not accommodate more than 100 people, the whole affair would be a fiasco. As a side issue on 4th of July parties, I had an engaging memorandum from Phil Eckert, our Agricultural

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Attaché, who said:

"As you know, the reception of American dressed poultry on the German market has been exceptionally good. In 1957 we received the first import authorization for DM 5 million; in 1958 this was raised to DM 10 million, and this year we have an authorization for DM 20 million with the assurance of the German Government that the authorization will be increased when all present licenses are exhausted.

This trade development, plus the fact that I think it would be exceptionally well received, leads me to suggest that you and Mrs. Bruce might want to consider serving fried American chicken at your forthcoming Fourth of July reception. The idea was tried last year by Ambassador Taylor in Bern and went over quite successfully. If you think well of the idea, I would suggest that only drumsticks and thighs be served and that some sort of electrical facilities be established on your lower lawn for serving the chicken hot.

Although I haven't proposed the idea, it is also possible that the American Institute of Poultry Industry, which has an office in Frankfurt, might be willing to defray the cost of the chicken.

If you would like to consider this general idea further, please let me know and we can discuss the details."

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Monday, June 15, 1959

Colonel Freund, Civil Affairs Officer at Heidelberg, came to see me this morning. He is being given a field command. I am particularly sorry to have him go, for I regard him as an exceptionally good officer.

I swam today for the first time this season. The weather is warm and clear. We left tonight by train for Berlin.

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Went to the Berlin office this morning and caught up on things with Gufler and Hamlett. They report sentiment in Berlin overwhelmingly in favor of holding the presidential election here on July 1. The Chancellor is said to be persevering in his efforts to block it. German Secret Service reports indicate the possibility of the East Germans trying to stop electors from coming and going on this occasion. No one knows how reliable these statements are. However, the delay in determining this matter has aroused widespread uneasiness, and the quicker it is settled the better. In spite of the Western Foreign Ministers having made quite clear their decision not to influence the result, inspired rumors are rampant of their fear that, if held in Berlin, this would be considered by the Soviets a provocative act and the announcement would have unfortunate repercussions at Geneva. This is entirely untrue. Somebody is

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ving to put the monkey on somebody else's back.

We gave a reception this afternoon at Harnack House for the Guflers. About 400 people attended. There was general mourning over their impending departure. Guf is leaving the end of this week for Washington, his agrément has been granted by the Ceylonese Government, and he will return to Berlin in July, join Gretchen and then proceed to Colombo in early August.

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

This is a German holiday, and the office was closed. We went to lunch with Herr and Frau Charley Notter, a strange name for Germans. He has a large pharmaceutical manufacturing business in Berlin, occupies an out-size house with magnificent gardens, around which fantail pigeons wander, in Bismarck Allee. The meal was a feast, and we ate steadily from 1:00 to 3:15, when E and I left before coffee to fill another engagement. Aside from other solids and fripperies, I ate two whole lobsters. It seems fish is flown down regularly from Hamburg to Berlin.

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Office this morning. Phil Horton, editor of the Reporter, came to lunch with us. We talked of old OSS days and the studies on Germany he is having prepared for his magazine. It has now attained a circulation of about 115,000, and Max Ascoli, its dynamic

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and unusual publisher, intends to continue it indefinitely. It seems that to establish it some four million dollars were poured into and absorbed by its operations. This was provided by Ascoli's wife, [redacted] a sister of Lessing Rosenwald who has been such a benefactor to the National Gallery in Washington.

John Rich of NBC came to call on me at the office, and at 7 o'clock E and I went to President Heuss's dinner at the Bellevue Palace. This was formerly a royal palace used in summer by the Hohenzollerns. Although the castle is in the middle of the city, it has a fine garden. The house itself was largely destroyed during the war but has been completely reconstructed. Externally, its architecture is quite beautiful. The interior has, in my opinion, been badly butchered through the use of modern furniture, fixtures and the rest. It will henceforth serve as the residence in Berlin of the President of the Federal Republic.

Heuss made an excellent speech, to which Mayor Brandt replied. Brandt [redacted] one of our guests at the reception yesterday. How he attends so many functions, carries on his duties and greets, in the course of the year, literally thousands of visitors, without overstraining his health, is a source of concern to his well-wishers in Berlin. I think he is a fine man and an able one. His Norwegian wife is [redacted] pretty and charming.

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We stopped with the Hamletts at their house for a drink, then took the night train back to Mehlem.

Friday, June 19, 1959

Henry Taylor of Scripps Howard Publications came to see me this morning before an engagement with the Chancellor.

We had a lunch today at home for the following: Ambassador Seydoux, Mr. and Mrs. Max Brusset, Mr. and Mrs. Bertold Beitz, Count Claus Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, Rebecca Wellington and Al Wells.

Max and Marie Brusset are old friends from French days. He is a Deputy as well as Mayor of Royan. Debre has charged him with the mission of making a study of government information services and propaganda. It is possible the French will set up a joint operation with the German Government for broadcasting. Max is going to America in September to examine the way such activities are conducted there. Upon his return, he expects to become Minister of Information. He also wishes to visit the Radio Free Europe installation in Munich.

Rebecca Wellington is here for ten days on her way to Salzburg.

I read two Eyes Only telegrams containing the text of an interchange between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev, as follows: (see pages 173-177).

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INCOMING AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

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SECRET

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Control: 963

Rec'd: 17 JUNE 1959
10:22 PM

FROM: DEPARTMENT

NUMBER: 3825 JUNE 17, 3 PM

EXTY SINF LONDON 1100; PARIS 4924 DUSK 3825

EYES ONLY AMBASSADORS

FOLLOWING FOR YOUR PERSONAL INFORMATION ONLY IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV:

QTE JUNE 15, 1959 DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: THE POINT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN REACHED IN THE DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS IN GENEVA AT WHICH I FEEL IMPELLED TO ADDRESS TO YOU THIS PERSONAL AND PRIVATE NOTE. I SHALL GIVE IT NO PUBLICITY WHATSOEVER UNLESS YOU WOULD DESIRE OTHERWISE.

IT HAS BEEN MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THE PROGRESS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING WOULD BE SUCH AS TO JUSTIFY A SUMMIT MEETING AT WHICH FINAL SETTLEMENTS OF SOME OF OUR PROBLEMS COULD BE REACHED. THIS NOTE IS A PERSONAL EFFORT TO EXPLAIN TO YOU WHY I FEEL THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AT GENEVA IMPERIL THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE.

THE SOVIET DELEGATION, WHILE UNWILLING TO DISCUSS IN A SERIOUS WAY THE BROAD PEACE PLAN WHICH WE PUT FORWARD, HAS NOW, AFTER SOME WEEKS OF BOTH PRIVATE AND PLENARY SESSIONS, PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN WHICH ARE FROM OUR VIEWPOINT A CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE CHALLANGE TO OUR POSITION IN THAT CITY. AT THE SAME TIME MR. GROMYKO HAS STATED THAT 'IN THE OPINION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THERE IS NO FOUNDATION FOR ANY LINK BETWEEN THE RESULTS OF THIP CONFERENCE AND THE CONVENING OF A SUMMIT MEETING'. BECAUSE OF YOUR ORIGINAL ACCEPTANCE ON MARCH 30

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FORM FS-501
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OF MY MARCH 26 PROPOSAL WITH RESPECT TO THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN US, I HAD COME TO BELIEVE THAT WE WERE COMING CLOSER TOGETHER IN THIS IMPORTANT MATTER. YOU WILL PROBABLY RECALL THAT IN PART OF MY MARCH 26 PROPOSAL I SAID, 'THE PURPOSE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING SHOULD BE TO REACH POSITIVE AGREEMENTS OVER AS WIDE A FIELD AS POSSIBLE AND IN ANY CASE TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE POINTS OF VIEW AND TO PREPARE CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR CONSIDERATION BY A CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT LATER IN THE SUMMER. ON THIS UNDERSTANDING AND AS SOON AS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING JUSTIFY HOLDING A SUMMIT CONFERENCE, THE US GOVERNMENT WOULD BE READY TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CONFERENCE. THE DATE, PLACE, AND AGENDA FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE PROPOSED BY THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS'.

YOU IN YOUR MARCH 30 REPLY THEN STATED: INNER QUOTE. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILL MAKE THEIR POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE AND THAT IT WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE CAUSE OF CREATING A FIRM PEACE IN EUROPE. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, ON ITS PART, WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ASSIST IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GOAL END INNER QUOTE.

I SINCERELY HOPE THAT BOTH YOU AND I CONTINUE TO HOLD TO

THE SPIRIT OF THIS UNDERSTANDING AND WILL DO WHAT WE CAN IN ASSURING THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TALKS WILL PRODUCE SATISFACTORY RESULTS.

IT SEEMS TO ME, UNFORTUNATELY, THAT THE LATEST SOVIET POSITION AT GENEVA AS PRESENTED BY MR. GROMYKO CREATES AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THAT IT IMPLIES THE CONVOCATION OF A SUMMIT MEETING WITHOUT PRIOR PROGRESS OF ANY KIND.

I AM QUOTE PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THAT FINAL AGREEMENTS ON THE CRITICAL QUESTIONS AFFECTING WORLD PEACE COULD PROBABLY BE BEST CONCLUDED AT A MEETING OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

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HOWEVER, I WANT TO SAY VERY EARNESTLY THAT OUR SECRETARY OF STATE HAS GONE TO GENEVA WITH FULL AUTHORITY FROM ME AND FROM THE US GOVERNMENT TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS OF THE TYPE CONTEMPLATED IN THE EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN US WHICH LED TO THE HOLDING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING, OF COURSE, MR. CHAIRMAN, TO WHAT EXTENT YOUR OWN FOREIGN MINISTER IS EMPOWERED BY YOU TO NEGOTIATE WITH THIS SAME DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF WHAT I THOUGHT WAS A FIRM RPT FIRM UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN YOU AND ME. BUT I DO ASSURE YOU THAT OUR PURPOSE IN THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING HAS BEEN TO CLEAR THE WAY FOR A FRUITFUL OR AT LEAST HOPEFUL MEETING OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

I HOPE YOU WILL URGENTLY CONSIDER THE SITUATION AS IT NOW STANDS. I WRITE TO YOU IN NO SENSE OF ATTEMPTING TO BARGAIN OR TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS. IT IS MY THOUGHT ONLY TO SEE WHETHER WE WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE SOME GREATER MEASURE OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OURSELVES AND EVENTUALLY TO REACH SETTLEMENTS IN SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT DIVIDE US. ONLY THUS, I THINK, CAN BE BRING ABOUT A REAL RELAXATION OF THE PRESENT TENSIONS IN THE WORLD. IT WOULD GIVE ME GREAT SATISFACTION IF WE COULD MEET LATER THIS YEAR FOR THAT PURPOSE.

I ADD ONLY THAT IF SUCH A MEETING WERE TO OFFER HOPE OF SUCCESS IT WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO TAKE PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH NEITHER SIDE WAS POSING A THREAT TO THE OTHER AND ON THE BASIS OF SUCH PREPARATORY WORK BY OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS AS COULD GIVE US REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SIGNIFICANT SUBJECTS. ANYTHING LESS, IT SEEMS TO ME, WOULD B A BETRAYAL OF THE HOPES OF MEN EVERYWHERE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. END QUOTE

PRESIDENT HAS DIRECTED THAT TEXT ABOVE MESSAGE BE MADE AVAILABLE ONLY TO AMBASSADORS AND NOT RPT NOT SHOWN TO OTHERS.

DILLON

17 JUNE MLB

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

INCOMING AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

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Control: 1048

Rcvd: 19 JUNE 59
02:30 AM

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EYES ONLY AMBASSADORS

SUMMARY OF KHRUSHCHEV LETTER TO PRESIDENT JUNE 17, 1959.

" IN PREVIOUS EXCHANGES SOVIET UNION EMPHASIZED CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS VERY COMPLICATED AND DECISION ON ALL DIFFICULT QUESTIONS APPEARS BEYOND POWERS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. FOR SOLUTION OF DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS WITH GREATER PLENARY POWERS SHOULD CONCERN THEMSELVES. WHEN IN MOSCOW MACMILLAN EXPRESSED OPINION SEVERAL MEETINGS MIGHT BE REQUIRED.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT HOPED FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING COULD MAKE USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO PREPARATION MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE POSITIVE AGREEMENTS AND EMPOWERED ITS FOREIGN MINISTER TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES FOR SUCCESS OF CONFERENCE. SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS THAT IN SPITE OF DIFFICULTIES, WORK OF CONFERENCE HAS CERTAIN POSITIVE SIGNIFICANCE, POSITIONS ARE BETTER CLARIFIED, DISAGREEMENTS BETTER DEFINED, AND CONFERENCE HAS TRIED TO DRAW VIEWPOINTS OF VARIOUS SIDES CLOSER.

THE NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS OFFER GOOD BASIS FOR AGREEMENT BECAUSE THEY TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION POSITION OF WESTERN POWERS AND CONCENTRATE ATTENTION ON WHAT CAN REASONABLY BE DECIDED. PROPOSALS PROVIDE BASIS GRADUAL LIQUIDATION OF

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ABNORMAL SITUATION WEST BERLIN AND GERMANY FOR AN UNDERSTANDING WITHOUT HARM FOR ANYONE'S INTERESTS OR PRESTIGE. WESTERN POWERS SEEK TO FOIST ON SOVIET UNION AN AGREEMENT FOR INDEFINITE PRESERVATION OCCUPATION REGIME IN WEST BERLIN.

THE ESSENCE OF SOVIETS' PROPOSALS CONSISTS IN GRADUAL LIQUIDATION OF ABNORMAL SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN AND PREPARATION OF PEACE TREATY AND MEASURES FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION. QUESTION OF TIME PERIOD INVOLVED IS NOT MAIN OR PRINCIPAL QUESTION. WE ARE SURPRISED THAT IT NOW REPRESENTED AS MAIN OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT. WE DID NOT CONSIDER PLAN OF WESTERN POWERS AS ULTIMATUM, ALTHOUGH IT PROVIDED FOR A TIME LIMITATION TO THE WORK OF ALL-GERMAN COMMITTEE. TIME LIMITATION IS PROPOSED BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE INDEFINITELY TO DRAFT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF GERMANY AND TO PRESERVE OCCUPATION REGIME IN WEST BERLIN. ADENAUER HAS DECLARED GERMAN QUESTIONS COULD BE CONSIDERED OVER PERIOD OF MANY YEARS. DURING THIS TIME MILITARIZATION OF WEST GERMANY AND WAR PREPARATIONS WOULD BE CONTINUED.

SOVIET UNION COULD AGREE TO ANOTHER PERIOD IF ONE YEAR PERIOD DOES NOT SUIT THE WESTERN POWERS. IT IS NECESSARY TO FIND "SOMETHING IN THE MIDDLE". AGREEMENT ON PERIOD WILL NOT BE DIFFICULT IF WE CAN HAVE AGREEMENT ON MAIN FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS INSTRUCTED ITS FOREIGN MINISTER SO THAT HE MAY ENGAGE IN EFFORTS IN DIRECTION OF BRAVING TOGETHER POINTS OF VIEW. WESTERN POWERS SHOULD DO LIKEWISE.

SUMMIT MEETING WILL BECOME EVEN MORE URGENTLY NECESSARY IF FOREIGN MINISTERS DO NOT REACH UNDERSTANDING. WE CANNOT, TAKING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES BEFORE PEOPLES INTO ACCOUNT, FAIL TO USE ALL MEANS FOR EASING TENSIONS AND STRENGTHENING PEACE.

I CONSIDER THIS EXCHANGE USEFUL AND AGREE THESE LETTERS SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN PUBLICITY."

FOREGOING FOR YOUR PERSONAL INFO ONLY. IF QUESTION ARISES, YOU SHOULD DENY ALL KNOWLEDG OF EXISTENCE ANY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND KHRUSHCHEV.

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I gave an address to the second contingent of Air Force Cadets. They have finished their third year at the Academy. I asked Richard Merian Cooper to come and see me. I am his trustee. I had not met him since he was a small boy. He is now a fine looking grown man and got his pilot wings several years ago. He expects to make the Air Force his profession, and says he wishes to have nothing to do with the moving picture business. He does not know how his father's project to make a movie of the life of General Chennault is progressing.

John Mecklin and Hadley Donovan of Time-Life came to see me, and we talked chiefly about Berlin.

The Conference at Geneva has reached a critical stage, and the question has arisen as to whether or not to recess it, to turn matters over to deputies, to have a meeting at the Summit, for which the British are pressing, or to break it off.

Meanwhile, the Chancellor is in a pickle over an interview he gave Flora Gruson. It has just been published in the New York Times. It alleges that Adenauer repeated previous statements that Erhard is too lacking in political experience to be Chancellor, although he called him a [redacted] talented man. This promises to create quite a [redacted] furore.

In connection with it, I asked Fred Luchsinger to come and see

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me this afternoon, as he is closer to the Chancellor than any other journalist. Luchsinger considers the Chancellor has gone too far in his war against Erhard and will build up resentment against himself, especially on the grounds he is not behaving in a democratic manner. Erhard has had to eat crow once and now it is a question as to whether he will do so again or will make an open break with the Chancellor. This matter might involve a party split.

Adenauer has given interviews in the same vein as that reported by Flora Gruson to Match, Life, CBS and possibly to other journalists. It is possible he would welcome Erhard's resignation and his consequent reduction to private status. Many of the Chancellor's most devoted followers are criticizing him almost openly. Personally, I feel it is too soon to try to form a judgment on what the eventual outcome may be. I do not believe the Chancellor is senile, but he is giving the impression of being more vindictive in regard to Erhard than is justified by the circumstances. Erhard has made the mistake of blowing hot and then cold, and he will shortly have to make up his mind as to whether to fight or to cave in completely. As seen from the outside world, these instances are damaging to the Federal Republic.

I have made no effort to see Adenauer lately and do not wish to do so on my own initiative. If I did, the rumors would be widespread

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alleging the United States Government is supporting the Chancellor in his position. I believe we should keep hands off entirely in this matter and let it evolve domestically as we have tried to do in the case of the presidential election dispute. This last has just been settled by Gerstenmaier announcing as soon as news was received today of the recess at Geneva until July 13, that Berlin would be the site of the election. Charges and counter-charges have been flying back and forth, between Gerstenmaier on the one hand and members of the Cabinet on the other, as to whether or not the Western powers favor or disfavor Berlin. Feeling in that city is embittered against the CDU opposition, the most common statement being that many CDU deputies fear a visit to Berlin from the standpoint of their personal safety, whereas the SPD representatives do not.

Fortunately, we had excellent weather for the cocktail party tonight and could use the terrace at the Club. We [redacted] asked 700 people and between 400 and 500 came.

Saturday, June 20, 1959

We went to the wedding this morning of Miss Cleora Andres of our office and Marine Sergeant Joseph Lowther. The Roman Catholic ceremony - a beautiful one - was performed in Stimson Memorial Chapel.

Afterwards, to the office to read [redacted] interesting telegrams

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about the wind-up at Geneva. Macmillan is still pressing for a Summit conference, regardless of no real progress having been made during the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

The Chancellor continues to lash out at Erhard and, to a lesser extent, at Macmillan.

The Slaters drove up from Bad Nauheim this afternoon and stayed for dinner. Loulou looked lovely.

Sunday, June 21, 1959

The telegrams this morning were uninteresting. Many British papers are violently criticizing the obduracy of the U. S. Government in not proceeding at once to fix a date for a Summit conference. In fact, the British now seem to view with scorn all of their principal allies.

It is a beautiful day. We lunched at the pool and swam.

At six o'clock we went down by train to Schloss Georgshausen, where I gave a dinner for Al Wells, who will be leaving next week. We took the Schwartzes, Maya de Montaudouin, Al, and Henry Pleasants with us. This Schloss, about an hour and a half from Bad Godesberg, is owned by Baron Landsberg. It is a hotel, restaurant and cafe. Some of the interior dates back to the 12th century. There are two moats around the castle. It is charmingly situated at the base of heavily wooded hills, and its appurtenant

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buildings are [redacted] attractive. We had a fine dinner, including trout taken from a stream on the place. We got back home about midnight.

Monday, June 22, 1959

[redacted] ull day at the office.

Dr. von Etzdorf came to lunch with me. He [redacted] was a member of the German delegation in Paris when I was observer to the European Defense Community. He is steeped in German history and [redacted] informative. Also, he has a passion for wines, and we had an hour's conversation on that cheering subject. Sent him my copy of Frank Schoonmaker's book. He shares with me the estimate that the Saar wines in a great year are the finest white wines in the world, excepting the more specialized Rhines and Haut Sauternes.

I thought I ought to weigh in with a few remarks on the Chancellor's activities, so dispatched the following telegram (see pages 183-184).

I paid my return call on the Thai Ambassador Jayanama this afternoon.

E had about 50 ladies to a tea, and afterwards we went to a farewell reception given by the Greek Ambassador Capetanides and his wife. They are leaving here shortly to take up their duties at the Greek Embassy in Madrid. She is [redacted] gay and a great bridge player.

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TELEGRAM Foreign Service of the United States of America

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Date: 22 June 1959

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As Embassy has reported, the embittered relationship between Chancellor and Erhard reached new peak last week, when Adenauer, during journalistic interviews, after terming his Vice Chancellor QUOTE very talented man UNQUOTE proceeded to say he did not possess qualities and abilities requisite for Chancellorship.

Having already made Erhard eat one dish of crow, he now seems ready to prescribe it as steady diet. Whether Adenauer's relentless attacks are dictated by vindictiveness or by policy cannot be determined, but probably by both. Although accusation is made they result from senility, no one close to him has observed any changes in his customary mental acuteness or physical vigor. In fact, he seems, at least outwardly, to enjoy the fight he has precipitated.

But from standpoint parliamentarians and general public, his prestige has undoubtedly suffered greatly. Even if he can again bring Erhard to heel, he will have suffered in common estimation, have afforded opportunity for denunciations his undemocratic methods, and have left permanent scars on his own party's body.

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Jealousy and dislike of Erhard's popularity, and his consequent capacity to take independent action, may well have influenced Adenauer. However, I suspect a stronger factor is his belief Erhard is not a good European in the Chancellor's sense, and particularly might not carry on the Franco-German rapprochement policy so obsessively dear to the Old Man.

I have refrained from seeing Chancellor recently. I feel if I did so, regardless of substance of conversation, action would be widely and variously misinterpreted. In my opinion, U. S. officials should abstain from comment on this domestic affair, despite its foreign repercussions. It may become even more prickly. Adenauer has compounded his original error over the Presidential succession by other mistakes of judgment and in his present mood is likely to make additional ones. Critically compromised as he is, it must be remembered he is self-assured, more of a man than any of his adversaries, and will probably continue to dominate them but with diminished authority.

BRUCE

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AUTH: David Bruce

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Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Bill Bundy came in with Henry Pleasants this morning, and we held a post mortem on the Geneva Conference. Peter Hope, the public relations spokesman for the British Foreign Office, seems to have been the bad boy there. The British were [redacted] solid in debate, but it is said the impressions derived from their press conferences indicated British willingness to compromise still further on Berlin and have a Summit meeting without preconditions.

Pleasants gave a gay lunch for Bundy in our upstairs dining room.

This afternoon Jack Irwin, Assistant Secretary of Defense, here from Geneva on his way home, came to see me with Rear Admiral Dudley of the JCS Staff and Herbert Thatcher.

Kit Steel and I met at the house at 5:15. Afterwards, we went to cocktails with Gilles Curien of the French Embassy and his wife. I am so sorry they are leaving here. They are being transferred to Washington, where they will have a deservedly great success.

We dined at the Belgian Embassy [redacted] then went to a dance given at the Turkish Embassy.

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Last night's dance at the Turks was a marvel of organization and entertainment. The orchestra was said to have come from

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St. Moritz - its members did not seem tired from the journey. The hour for which we were invited was nine, but the excellent and enjoyable dinner at the Belgians [redacted] delayed us, and when we arrived the rooms and terraces were already crowded. The buffet was the best arranged I have [redacted] seen, with spectacular pyramids of lobsters graduated from monsters upward to glorified shrimp size. The lowest terrace was arranged with small tables for couples and quartets.

We had little sleep, for we left at six a. m. for Duesseldorf, where we took a 9:10 Lufthansa plane for Paris. Like yesterday, the weather was clear and hot. We lunched at Tante Louise on Rue Boissy d'Anglas, and are staying at the Crillon, having for the first time been lucky enough to get the little apartment 557, with its matchless views over the city.

I committed some indiscretions at Jansen's boutique; Cora Gaetani has such good taste, and I am always tempted and succumb to one or more of the lures there. This time, the chief object I coveted and acquired was a stone bas relief she [redacted] bought in Marseilles of Napoleon, Josephine and the Roi de Rome.

Thursday, June 25, 1959

As I was leaving the hotel this morning, light-headed from a haircut, I saw a small boy, unconscious or asleep, being carried into the lobby by a chasseur. He was one of the Graham clan, and was

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followed by Kay, Lallie, and two brothers. They had just come over on a Pan American jet, and had not slept. Phil [redacted] remained behind, for Eugene Meyer is slowly dying of cancer of the lung. I am so sorry, but he has had a long and happy run. He must be about eighty-five. During the almost thirty years he has owned the Washington Post, he has built it from a discredited journal to one of the most influential papers in the country. Moreover, he has been a splendid citizen and philanthropist, as well as a man who delights in friendship and good cheer.

Lovely Kay came to see us about noon, and we left her to take the Dijon train. There Bill Tyler and Royall met us; we drove out to Antigny to join Betsy and Eve. I had not seen Antigny since 1931, but had retained a vivid impression of its beauty, in which there is nothing to disappoint. The Senior Tylers bought it about 1920, and Bill has now inherited it. His sentiment for the place, and for Burgundy generally, is overwhelming. One can well understand this. The house was built around 1629, and one looks across the court to the ruins of a mediaeval fortress, to a chapel of the 13th or 14th century (classified as a Monument Historique), to an ancient tower, and a wing in which is located his parents' magnificent library. The roofs are all covered with russet tiles and slope at crazy angles. Inside, there is a great flight of stone steps, suspended in space without visible supports. The

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furniture and objects are of early periods and from all parts of the world, including inherited New England mahogany.

During the last war, Mrs. Tyler lived on upstairs in the Chateau, even though most of it was occupied by the Germans, who destroyed or looted nothing. Most of the year the house remains closed and unheated. Rainy as it is here, furniture and stuffs do not deteriorate. Betsy and Bill, like the parents, are favorites in the village, and there is no fear of arson, burglary, robbery or such crimes. An invaluable old couple, the Carnoys, come up from Hyères to serve them while they are in residence. Gifted Monsieur Carnoy retired long ago as Maitre d'Hotel at the Café de Paris, and he and his wife were left, at Mrs. Tyler's death, the usufruct of the top floor of her house in the South. Another retainer, who occupies a small dwelling in the village, is Smith, an English bachelor chauffeur brought to France fifty years ago by Edith Wharton. He has stayed ever since, and putters around being kind and useful, shelling peas or driving cars with equal contentment.

We had a joyous dinner, with 1934 Romanée St. Vivant.

Friday, June 26, 1959

Went this morning to the MacLanahan's Chateau de Mistery, where I stayed a couple of days twenty-eight years ago. It is one of the most beautiful and harmonious of French domestic establishments,

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most of the house 18th century, the rest, including the chapel, much earlier.

The Germans desecrated the interior, removed the plumbing and some of the fine boiseries, broke or stole most of the furniture. However, the exterior has suffered little. Mr. MacLanahan Senior, a Philadelphia architect, bought it in the early twenties because he considered it the most appealing Chateau he had ever seen. Mike inherited it ten years later, but now seldom visits it. We were unable to enter the house. The stone staircase has collapsed, and I suppose it would require extensive restoration to be again made livable.

Appetites are hearty in Burgundy - we lunched substantially, then, after time out for reclining reflection, took to the road, to look at Bob Thayer's folly, Chaudenay-le-Chateau. It was a purchase dictated by romance and imagination. For about four hundred dollars he bought this congeries of ancient ruins on a mountain top, and, if he continues his expenditures for repairs at the present rate, will end by owning one of the most dramatic of Burgundian installations.

From there we went to Chateauneuf, the Castle recently given by Count Georges de Vogué to the nation, after his family had inhabited it for hundreds of years. Its dependent village has several charming houses and is well worth visiting.

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More 1934 Burgundy tonight, a Corton Grancey, and fine Marc de Musigny, both conducive to profound sleep.

Saturday, June 27, 1959

We gathered our forces this morning for neighborhood exploration. First stop was at Louis Latour's establishment - Aloxe Corton. He told me of the sad condition of my valued friend Joseph Drouhin, whose advice and friendship I have always prized. At the Tylers we [redacted]-drank yesterday some of Drouhin's 1955 white Clos des Mouches, a wine his family [redacted] lifted from obscurity to fame.

Latour took E and me to the mount from which one surveys the small stretch of the Corton Charlemagne vineyard - made over by Charlemagne in the ninth century to a monastery. From this hilltop, one could see unrolled the source of wines whose names ring gratefully on recipient ears. Aloxe Corton belongs to the Latours, who additionally own portions of the great crus of the region.

We descended into his cellars, after viewing the dormant producing plant which three months hence will be the scene of carnival, when, with bare feet, the peasants tread the grapes. The machinery was sleek and anticipatory of activity to come.

In the perfectly conditioned temperature of 54° Fahrenheit, we tasted glass after glass of Corton Grancey, commencing with 1957 (still uncertain), 1955, 1953, 1949, and finally 1947, the mysterious

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year of greatest promise, now doomed to faint within a decade. Latour said the significant local wines of the century were 1911, 1923, 1929, and 1947, with 1934 a fifth or sixth.

He quitted us at Beaune, that city so worthy of touristic curiosity, and we lunched beyond its confines at a secluded restaurant, Sans Souci, on snails and other indigenous delicacies.

In the afternoon we paid a call at Commarin, the Chateau of the Comtesse Charles de Vogué, widowed by the First World War, deprived of her only child, a son, intimate friend of Bill Tyler, by the Second War. All the contents of this Chateau are contemporaneous with its various period embellishments. No description would do it justice. A faultless taste is evident throughout, proof against even a prolonged German occupation. Hundreds of years of Vogué habitation form a coordinated whole; it is hoped it will descend to a nephew appreciative of its merits. In the Henri IV portion, two stuffed wolves snarl at entrants; yet they were killed on the property less than a hundred years ago. Colossal carp disport themselves in the moat, and the long architectural ponds. Portraits innumerable link ancient and modern history, including that of the first warrior awarded the Golden Fleece, a member of the Vienne family.

Back at beloved Antigny, we passed our last evening together. Eve, student of 14th and 15th century lute playing, entertained us with

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her guitar, while Royall, having bought a Greek tome in Beaune, meditated on ancient languages and the modern ones of which he is already an exotic master. A most unusual family. What a happy day!

Sunday, June 28, 1959

An end to vacation, during which none of the preoccupations of the outside world penetrated. At 11:10 we boarded the Dijon train for Paris, and the resumption of care. Eve accompanied us. We gorged on the good train food. It was raining in Paris - E went to see Madame Codreaneu, and I to the Chambers at 13 Rue Monsieur. They had just left with Marie and Averell Harriman for the Grand Prix at Longchamps, so I stayed on to read. After E joined me, we paid a call on adorable Marina Sulzberger, before going to the airport to board a Lufthansa plane for Duesseldorf. Marina [redacted] dined last night with Charlie Thayer, a companion on Averell's travels. According to him, there is a Soviet rumor that Khrushchev has a brain tumor and, Samson-like, will pull down the world to achieve his aims - global destruction or the ejection of the Allies from Berlin.

We had a smooth flight, unlike the ghastly accident day before yesterday of a TWA plane outside Milan. It exploded soon after take-off, and, in the expressive French phrase, all on board were "carbonized", some 68 once sentient beings.

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Usual brouhaha at Rolandstrasse. Dogs almost mad with excitement, children abed.

Bill Bundy - a fine and valuable man - was in Bonn a few days ago and told me that his father-in-law, Dean Acheson, was studying Italian via linguaphone and a private teacher. I have long intended to do the same. When Vice-Consul at Rome, thirty-three years ago, I was moderately proficient in the language, and would like to recapture it. The same applies to Spanish. There is no spur like necessity. As a lawyer at Semmes, Bowen and Semmes, I was entrusted with a case in Ecuador. Upon my arrival, I had to learn a smattering of Spanish or lose the case. Pride and pecuniary considerations flogged me into constructive study.

Monday, June 29, 1959

I found this morning the affair of holding the presidential election in Berlin still further complicated by various legal considerations with which the Allied powers do not want to become involved. At any rate, most of the electors are on their way there and, in spite of the receipt a few days ago of a note of protest from the Soviets, the election should go off as planned.

I read this morning the correspondence between Adenauer and Erhard about their sharp differences. The concluding letter of the Chancellor, that seems to have satisfied the Vice Chancellor, was

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as follows:

"June 23

"Dear Mr. Erhard:

From the reply which you gave me today in answer to my letter of June 22 I see to my sincere satisfaction how deeply you feel linked with the great political objectives towards whose realization you have been working together with me for more than a decade with so much dedication, and also with such visible success. From your reply, I also see with regret, however, how much you feel hurt by the much discussed interview with the "New York Times"

In whatever way the conversation may be judged or interpreted, I assure you that an intention to offend you or to depreciate your reputation has certainly been far from my mind. On the contrary, I am filled with the conviction that the reconstruction of our country, its return into the community of the free nations, and the hopeful beginnings of European unity are to a large extent due to your dedicated efforts and to the power of conviction of your words.

We therefore need your capacity for work which has so frequently stood the test, and particularly in the postwar years when there seemed to be no way out of the difficulties, so that we can master the cares which still lie ahead of us in the future. These manifold tasks will certainly not be easier or less important, and they therefore imperatively demand a cooperation which is harmonious and trusting and sure of its aim.

For this reason I am very much interested in a thorough settlement of the differences that have come up between us, and I definitely would not wish to be satisfied with a merely superficial and formal bridging over of the difficulties.

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I would like to give you the assurance that as a politician and as a man you can be sure of my full confidence and that I gratefully recognize the great services which you have rendered by your political activities in their entirety and especially in the special fields of your sphere of competence, in particular those of economic policy and of European economic integration.

Your work in these fields, in which so much still remains to be done, must remain assured, also for the future, within the framework of the competences conferred upon you at the time of the formation of the government. I would not want to do without your advice, and I am looking forward to the continuation, or, possibly, resumption of our amicable and trusting cooperation.

With friendly regards,

Yours,

Konrad Adenauer."

This afternoon we went to the International School to attend the presentation of prizes. The festivities were enchanting. There was dancing, poetic recitations, and amusing interpretations by children of 7 [redacted] 8 of La Fontaine's Fables. François Seydoux presided and, with his keen sense of humor, made everything gay and informal. David was dressed as a naval captain and had charge of a crew who, in their French Marine costumes, simulated the rowing of a galley. Nicky was a dancing boy. David received a first prize in his class, and Nicky a fourth in his. There was such a mass of prizes that, fortunately, almost everyone went off with

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something to boast about.

Back to the office.

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Secretary of Agriculture Benson and Mrs. Benson came to see me this morning at the office. They have not decided whether to go to Berlin tomorrow evening. I think it would be well, since it will be his only opportunity to see the German Minister of Agriculture, Luebke, the CDU candidate for the presidency. Benson can either congratulate him on his election or commiserate with him on his defeat.

I have always admired Secretary Benson's firmness of principle though I know nothing of the controversial programs he has sponsored. He has been bitterly criticized for some of them and many Republicans consider him a political liability. Phil Eckert warned me of his dislike for any beverage stronger than milk. He is a devout and high ranking Mormon. The Bensons came to lunch with us, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Timberlake, Mr. and Mrs. Nordness, Mr and Mrs. Ockey, Phil Eckert, Mr. and Mrs. Arnim Rehling and Don Junior.

Col. Simenson brought in Captain Lewis Martin, the replacement for Major ImObersteg, to see me. Both the Col. and Capt. Martin [redacted] attended the Army Language Training School at Monterey for six months before being sent here.

Joe Dasher came to see me this afternoon to invite us to the

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christening of their child at Heidelberg on July 10. Unfortunately, we will probably be in Venice at that time.

I ordered, through Henry Pleasants, another 124 bottles of Mosel today from the Schaumburger Hof.

We dined quietly tonight with the Timberlakes.

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